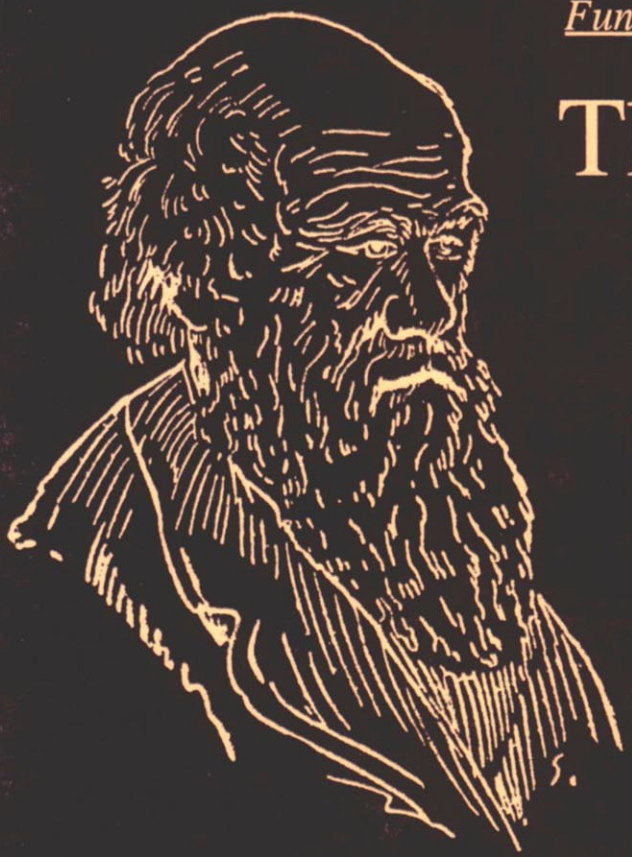
$5.00

California Political Review



Fundamentalism for Atheists

The Pseudoscience of the Neo-Darwinists

by
Phillip E. Johnson

Also:

Ken Khachigian On Politics in the 1990s

Stanford's Herd of Independent Thinkers

In Correspondence: Fumento vs. Duesberg

Vol. 2, No. 2 *A Publication of the California Public Policy Foundation* Spring 1991

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in California Journalism

Should liberals continue to straightjacket California's political debate? No matter its failures, the left's creaking, derelict statism still shapes every discussion — *for* big government "solutions," *for* continuous tax increases, *for* more bureaucratic control, *belittling* individual freedom, *maligning* individual responsibility. Liberalism's monopoly in California journalism is the cause. ***California Political Review*** is the cure. Add *your* name to the growing list of California conservative leaders reading *California Political Review*. Subscribe today!

California Political Review is filling a critical need in the Golden State by focusing attention on both the conservative successes and liberal failures that the major media so rarely cover. In addition, the Review is forging new conservative coalitions in California and that makes it one of the most vital, important new endeavors around.

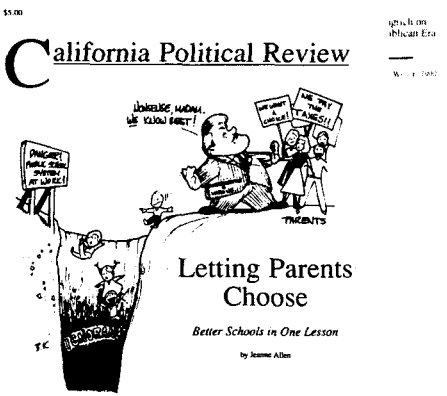
— Bruce Herschensohn

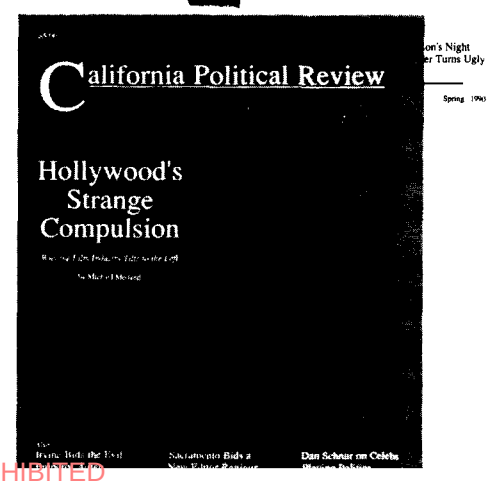
I have just seen the Summer 1990 issue of California Political Review, and I can't tell you how impressed I am with it. My congratulations and very best wishes.

— William A. Rusher

California Political Review will help ensure that all viewpoints are placed before the public.

— Hon. George Deukmejian





SUBSCRIPTION APPLICATION

Name _____
Please Print

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Signature _____

Yes. I want a full year of *California Political Review* for just $14.95 — more than 25% off the cover price! ___ I have enclosed my check (payable to the California Public Policy Foundation) **OR** ___ Bill me after my first issue. If I am not satisfied, I may write "cancel" on my bill and return it within 15 days, owing nothing. (Please send this form to the address below. Thank you.)

California Political Review

Must reading for informed Conservatives

4520 Van Nuys Blvd., Ste. 662, Sherman Oaks, CA 91403

California Political Review

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

California Political Review

Spring 1991

Articles

Neo-Darwinist Pseudoscience 10
Schools teach evolution not as theory but as fact. But is it based upon a fair assessment of scientific evidence or has Darwinism become a kind of fundamentalism for atheists — the creation myth of scientific naturalism?
by Phillip E. Johnson

A Herd of Independent Thinkers 16
In India, campuses displayed a diversity of views on any disputed question. One must come to America, a curious traveler observes, to find universities where "diversity" means homogeneity of thought.
by Dinesh D'Souza

Features

Forum 20
Veteran political consultant and presidential speechwriter Kenneth L. Khachigian talks about conservative opportunities, liberal vulnerabilities, and ways to take the political offensive as we head into the '90s.

Arts and Culture 24
A wandering *Criticus* discourses authoritatively *urbi et orbi* on the Sleeping Giant to the North. In *Books:* A Strange Romanticism deflated. Also: D'Souza's *Illiberal Education: The Politics of Race and Sex on Campus.*

Worth Repeating 32
Having learned that "political clout derives from economic power, not the other way around," Elizabeth Wright's *Issues & Views* covers the growth and accomplishments of the "entrepreneurial culture" of black Americans.

Correspondence 2
California Chronicles 5
Commentary 7
Sacramento Spectator 8

A publication of the California Public Policy Foundation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Correspondence

The Poor Man's Intellectualism

Regards your interview with Dr. Peter Duesberg ("HIV: Guilty as Charged?," *CPR*, Fall 1990), five years ago, I began a book review, "Iconoclasm is the poor man's intellectualism." Say something radically different from the rest of the crowd on an important issue and there will always be a certain percentage of the population that thinks you're ahead of your time, when in fact you may simply have missed the boat. Never in those five years have I seen a better example of this than Dr. Peter Duesberg and his argument that HIV doesn't cause AIDS.

Actually, his argument should be characterized as, "You can't prove to me that HIV causes AIDS." However much Duesberg may or may not know about virology, he is the master of what may be called the "impossible threshold" fallacy. In essence, this is the equivalent of saying, "I'll be convinced of your argument if you can enter a round room and sit in a corner."

For example, Duesberg and his doctoral student Bryan J. Ellison argue in their summer *Policy Review* article that to establish that HIV causes AIDS, the virus must be found in the affected tissues in all cases of the disease. But by this standard, cytomegalovirus doesn't cause cytomegalovirus disease, poliovirus doesn't cause polio, and Mycobacterium tuberculosis doesn't cause TB, because all three of these leave large numbers of infected persons asymptomatic; indeed, all have considerably less correlation between infection and disease than does HIV and AIDS. By the standards Duesberg has applied to determine whether HIV causes AIDS, no pathogen causes any disease.

The fact is, of 341 men in the San Francisco hepatitis B study who were infected with HIV between 1977 and 1980, all but 19 percent are now dead of AIDS, living with AIDS, or have earlier symptoms of AIDS. When I referenced this study in my letter printed in the Fall 1990 *Policy Review*, Duesberg and Ellison responded that these people were "originally selected because they were already sick with hepatitis" and thus their immune systems were already heavily taxed. In fact, persons with hepatitis B or markers for hepatitis B were specifically excluded from the study, because one purpose of the study was to observe at what rate the men became infected. Not only does this cripple their point, it well illustrates their ignorance of important data that concerns their argument.

Death is inevitable, but a premature horrible one is not, and thus I urged Duesberg and Ellison that, before they do the equivalent of telling people that it's okay to put a loaded gun up their nostril and pull the trigger they should show their faith in their thesis by offering to inject themselves with HIV. Once again they played the impossible threshold game by insisting that I arrange "sufficient national publicity" for them — as if I, who can't even get his book into "politically conscious" bookstores, could possibly do that. Funny, but I don't remember Dr. Walter Reed insisting on a national audience before allowing himself to be bitten by an infected mosquito, or Dr. Daniel Zagury insisting on French national television broadcasting his injecting himself with his AIDS vaccine. Anyway, even if I could arrange national publicity, you can bet it wouldn't be "sufficient." Indeed, if I got every single American to watch, I can just hear Duesberg's response: "Sure, I'll be glad to inject myself — but only on the eighth day of the week."

Michael Fumento
Lakewood, Colorado

Duesberg and Ellison respond:

Michael Fumento tries to make only two substantive points: (1) When we argue that the virus (HIV) must be found in every case of the disease (AIDS), he misinterprets this to mean that the disease must be found in every case of virus infection. (2) Fumento refers to the "San Francisco hepatitis B study" with the implication that only perfectly healthy men with HIV were involved; if he is referring to the cohort of homosexual men used to develop vaccine against hepatitis B, then they were picked specifically because they showed evidence of past hepatitis infection. If Fumento is referring to some other study, he should let both sides of the HIV debate know where to find it.

As to the hyperbole filling the rest of

California Political Review

A publication of the California Public Policy Foundation

John Kurzweil *Editor & Publisher*
Jan Edwards *Managing Editor*
Jan Lester *Assistant Managing Editor*
John Gurley *California Chronicles*
Gene Foley *Business Manager*
Charles Bell *Legal Advisor*

Editorial Advisory Board

William R. Allen *Economics*
Harold Johnson *Commentary*
Jeanne Allen *Education*
Herbert T. Krimmel *Legal Issues*
G. B. Tennyson *Arts and Culture*

California Political Review, published quarterly by the California Public Policy Foundation, 4520 Van Nuys Blvd., Ste. 662, Sherman Oaks, CA 91403. Signed articles express their authors' opinions and do not necessarily reflect the views of the editors or the California Public Policy Foundation. Unsigned editorials express the editors' opinions and not necessarily the views of the California Public Policy Foundation. Rates: $20 yearly (four issues); students: $10 yearly. *California Political Review* is copyrighted by the California Public Policy Foundation. Send address changes, manuscripts, and Correspondence to the Editor, *California Political Review*, 4520 Van Nuys Blvd., Ste. 662, Sherman Oaks, CA 91403. Unsolicited manuscripts should be accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Fumento's letter, we can only offer two observations:

(1) For someone who makes a career of semi-iconoclasm, we find Fumento's anti-iconoclasm puzzling.

(2) Fumento seems to ignore the non-medical consequences of HIV infection — travel restrictions, job discrimination, etc. — that exist currently. We therefore ask merely that Fumento declare his willingness to take our ideas seriously enough to help propagate them, before we inject ourselves with HIV. We see no point in doing so until such an action would attract at least some serious attention — on any of the seven days of the week.

Shame . . .

It is a shame that the writer for "Sacramento Spectator" doesn't bother to read the rest of your magazine. In the same issue where this Spectator of limited vision took a couple of cheap shots at our new U.S. senator, John Seymour ("Beyond 'Big Green'," *CPR*, Winter 1991), the editor (in "Correspondence") answered a writer who thought George Deukmejian or any other politician in the state wasn't conservative enough: "At the risk of stating the obvious: political victory in a democracy comes by building coalitions of people who disagree about many things but who work together to achieve particular shared objectives."

Those of us who have worked with John Seymour in Sacramento, or when he was mayor, or in his work for various party and campaign activities understand him to be a thoughtful conservative. He has been consistent in areas like economic and tax policy and on looking for conservative solutions to issues like drug abuse and highway congestion. When he has changed his mind, it has been after reflection and thought based on a strong sense of values as well as consideration of the effects of policy on society.

As California conservatives begin to understand that their choice will be between a thoughtful, creative conservative and a yammerer whose only agenda seems to be the promotion of an unbending "moral" list, they will be very satisfied to re-elect the man your Spectator so dismally misunderstands.

Jonathan Brown
Sacramento

APC responds:

Mr. Brown raises a good point, one with which I usually agree. In fact, I was one of the conservative voices last fall urging fellow conservatives to hold their nose and vote for Pete Wilson for governor. I believe that too often our Conservative Movement does not take into account simple political reality.

That being said, Sen. Seymour is a different case for two reasons: 1) The issues he chose to flip on, and 2) the timing of his flip-flop. The two issues he changed his position on — abortion and off-shore drilling — are not "back burner" items which can be ignored by elected officials. Virtually no one gets elected to office without having to address these issues and think about their position. In other words, you don't have "casual" positions on these issues. You have positions on them that you are comfortable with and can defend.

In addition, Sen. Seymour made no secret of these positions, and actively solicited support in previous elections based on his prolife and pro-energy independence positions.

When you add to this the timing *of his switch — just as he was preparing to run for lieutenant governor — his perfidy becomes clear. It is obvious to* everyone, *not just yours truly, that Seymour's flip-flop was motivated by politics and politics alone.*

Do we want that caliber of person representing the Republican Party? It is on this last question that Mr. Brown and I apparently disagree.

. . . and Disappointment, Excellence and Waste

I was disappointed in your sarcastic and contradictory replies to the first two letters in the Winter 1991 *CPR*. On one hand you criticized Mr. Menoni for his concern for our deteriorating right to protect ourselves. As the left chips away at our right to bear arms, you responded by saying, "Some issues will always divide our coalition, but it is the business of our opponents, not ourselves, to salt these wounds. Mr. Menoni has gained momentary satisfaction by parading his frustration, but it is the satisfaction of a loser, not to be advocated to people who take their political convictions seriously enough to want to win."

Then you go on to ridicule Miss Black (who is concerned with your 20-to-one ratio of men to women writers.) "Her letter has nothing to say about the truthfulness or wisdom of anything our 21 writers said . . . . We founded *California Political Review* for people interested in thinking honestly about ideas. "

As a woman who believes in her right to choose to defend herself and her family, I worry about increased government interference.

If you are interested in integrity, and people who take their political convictions seriously, why call Mr. Menoni, derogatorily, a "loser"?

He has my support for standing up to those liberals and so-called conservatives who support bigger government and the anti-gun scam.

Jeanne L. Gilkey
San Jose

I was disappointed by your response to René Menoni's letter. For many of us the Second Amendment is every bit as important as the First Amendment and Amendments three through 10. When our political leader sells out as the former governer did we cease to support him and his party. If your vision of "shared objectives" includes the end of the Second Amendment, please let us know so that I may cancel my subscription.

Runston G. Maino
Fallbrook

Regarding Winter '91, the articles by [Glynn] Custred ("Flies in Amber") and [T. R.] O'Neill-Lopez ("Pact Man") were

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

excellent. So was [Thomas] Sowell's ("Affirmative Action's Textbook Case"), but I had a hard time seeing the California connection in it.

I think it's a waste of space trying to fence with feminists (Judy Black, Hollywood). It just encourages 'em. I mean, why apologize? We're bombarded with this noxious ideology on every page of our daily press, in public radio, and in public television. They have plenty of outlets.

Bruce Olson
Modesto

Neither Messrs. Brown nor Maino nor Mrs. Gilkey addressed our actual disagreement with René Menoni, which had nothing to do with his opinion of George Deukmejian's conservatism, with the Roos-Roberti bill, or with the Second Amendment.

CPR*'s main purpose is to give California conservatives a public place to think "honestly about ideas," to argue and pursuade, and may the best man win. Mr. Menoni was not criticized for taking strong views, but for failing to stay and fight for them. His refusal to subscribe on the grounds that one of* CPR*'s endorsers once signed a gun control bill implies not only that George Deukmejian is no conservative, but that anyone having anything to do with him henceforth must* also *be read out of the movement. This is not philosophical integrity but a free-fall into resentment, despair, and defeat. It is echoed in Runston Maino's threat to cancel his subscription. Inasmuch as we wholeheartedly support the Second Amendment, this predilection for quitting the field among some of our allies on this issue is terribly sad to observe.*

We thank Mr. Brown for his defense of John Seymour, but if he interprets our position to mean that Seymour, Deukmejian, Sacramento Spectator, or anything else is above criticism, he is mistaken. We're here to argue, not to be all things to all men or to refuse to talk with those who dispute our views. Bruce Olson wonders why we bother repudiating Judy Black's demand that CPR *choose its writers by gender. Political battles aren't won by refusing to fight. Conservatives very much need more polemical ring time against the left and thrashing out ideas among ourselves. More importantly, California's political debate desperately needs the participation of more conservative minds trained to their best form through ongoing, rigorous mental exercise.*

"The bodily eye," in John Henry Newman's words, "the organ for apprehending material objects, is provided by nature; the eye of the mind, of which the object is truth, is the work of discipline and habit."

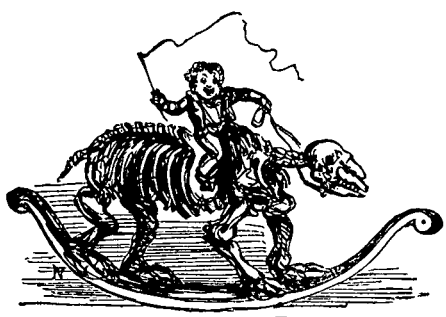
Since truth is conservatism's objective, just as confusion, relativism, and emotionalism are the objectives of the left, we, far more than they, rely upon a well-working (which means well-disciplined) eye of the mind. CPR *is published to give conservatives' minds a chance to work out. As we said last issue to Miss Black, we intend to retain this distinguishing purpose.*
Editor

Defending *The Nation*'s Integrity

Congratulations on your fine journal. I liked your choice of contributors; namely, Thomas Sowell, Michael Medved, T.R. O'Neill-Lopez, and especially the interview with David Horowitz.

However, I would quibble with David's description of *The Nation* as neo-Stalinist. (Neo meaning newly or recently.) I believe *The Nation* has been faithfully Stalinist since the late 1930s.

Carl Noll
Riverside



The Importance of Classes

The subject of your "Commentary" on affirmative action (*CPR*, Winter 1991) should center on "equal protection of the laws" which, of course, slavery, quotas, and special preference based on color all preclude. While you offer sound examples of the evils of affirmative action, the existence of "classes" is not one of them, for classes are distinct from the "special interest groups" you rightly decry.

Russell Kirk said it well: ". . . civilized society requires orders and classes. The only true equality is moral equality; all other attempts at leveling lead to despair, if enforced by positive legislation. Society longs for leadership, and if a people destroy natural distinctions among men, presently Buonaparte fills the vacumn" (*Keeping the Tablets: Modern American Conservative Thought*, p. 44).

It is not that the Democrats want to "improve employment prospects for all classes of Americans" (Who doesn't?) so much as it is that they don't know how to go about it other than as demagogues. Reagan knew how, yet they are still wearing blinders. "Dull head(s) among windy spaces." (*The Wasteland*).

W. Edward Chynoweth
Sanger

Fine Points of Style

I notice you refer to the "Democrat," not "Democratic," party. Why not call people what they call themselves?

Kevin Ireland
San Clemente

California Political Review*'s stylebook, which no* CPR *editor may ever transgress, in this regard reads: "The party of Willie Brown will not be referred to as the Democrat'ic' party, but only as the Democrat party, so as not to confuse readers about Chairman Brown's position on gerrymandering, judicial activism, and ballot measures he wishes the voters hadn't passed."*
Editor CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

California Chronicles

John Gurley, editor

California Chronicles reports on current activities and projects of conservative leaders and organizations around the Golden State.

California Association of Scholars

Quotas on Campus

Leaders of the California Association of Scholars held a news conference at the state Capitol in late April to oppose provisions of AB 2150 (Brown, D-San Francisco) and AB 617 (Hayden, D-Santa Monica) that would force all state-funded colleges and universities to consider race and ethnicity in setting admission, evaluation, and graduation policies, require all students to take ethnic studies courses, and install mechanisms for enforcing political correctness on campus. AB 2150 specifically designates "the percentages of individuals from underrepresented or economically disadvantaged groups" within student bodies as the measure to be used in meeting the provisions of the bill. It also mandates "[t]he development of policies and procedures for preventing, reporting, evaluating, and correcting incidents of differential treatment and racism, whether verbal or physical, including mechanisms by which incidents may be reported to institutional officials designated as being responsible for investigating incidents."

CAS also opposed AB 1944 (Lee, D-Oakland), which would pressure colleges and universities to employ similar policies in hiring of faculty and administrators and race-based criteria for faculty retention, tenure, and promotion.

"[T]hese measures," CAS said in a written statement, "violate the fundamental concept that students should be judged on the basis of their qualifications and performance as individuals, not by their race or color or membership in a particular group . . . . [CAS] opposes racial quotas or their functional equivalent, politically or ideologically motivated revisions of the curriculum, and all forms of 'political correctness' that lead to a chilling of free speech on campuses . . . ."

At the news conference, CAS released statements by such highly respected scholars as James Q. Wilson of UCLA, John H. Bunzel of the Hoover Institution, and Shelby Steele of San Jose State University and author of *The Content of Our Character*.

"Once professors were denounced for being communists or espousing unAmerican views," said Wilson's statement. "Today many are denounced for being racists or sexists. While no one wishes to defend real racism (any more than one wishes to defend real communism), the reckless use of these labels is destructive of the very essence of a university — a place of free thought and inquiry."

The legislation in question is expected to be voted on by the California Legislature later this year. Bills with similar provisions were passed by both houses in 1990 but vetoed by Gov. George Deukmejian. (For more information, see: "California Chronicles — National Association of Scholars" and "Flies in Amber," *CPR*, Winter 1991.) Contact: Professor Glynn Custred, California Association of Scholars, P. O. Box 7602 Landscape Station, Berkeley, CA 94707, 415/937-2125.

Playhouse West

Unconventional Theatrics

The "Hollywood to the Rescue" column of a recent issue of *The Playhouse West Standard*, the quarterly newsletter of acting school Playhouse West, carried an "Item" headed: "Cure for Homelessness."

It related that, "Paul Savage of the Tues/Thur Morning Intermediate Class had a few setbacks, lost his job, etc. He was in a financially dangerous condition, even perhaps threatened with homelessness if the situation continued. He took a few days off from class and went out and found not one but two jobs, and thereby, we feel, discovered at least one way in which to cure the homeless problem — get a job. So far no major papers or

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

news shows have reported on this sociological discovery of Paul's but we recognize it as a clear case of Hollywood to the Rescue." Do you notice the room rocking and teetering around you? Can it be that a group of genuine *actors* has been sighted *in Hollywood* able to talk calmly, even sensibly, and with a sense of humor about *homelessness*? It appears so.

Director Robert Carnegie describes Playhouse West as an "arts institution . . . considered by many in Los Angeles to be by far the best acting school in town." It also, he adds, "happens to be conservative."

Playhouse West's nearly 250 student-members are taught according to the acting technique of Sanford Meisner. Mr. Carnegie is a veteran actor who has appeared in more than 100 plays and in several motion pictures and television shows, though none recently because for the last several years he has devoted himself exclusively to teaching, an activity he and the others at Playhouse West take seriously.

"The main challenge," wrote *Standard* editor Scott Trost in a recent column, "is that of being a responsible artist. We do not perform in a vacuum . . . . a serious theatrical production about the human condition can change lives, can literally transform audience members."

Thus the folks at Playhouse West talk about art as though it had real content and objective quality, and as though the level of its quality were important because it matters in peoples' lives. They don't mind observing that much of what the National Endowment for the Arts sponsors is degrading, that Hollywood's environmental movement is more fad and show than genuine effort to do good, and *even* that the War to Stop Hussein, as Carnegie calls it, should be supported. It's the sort of heresy Hollywood's free speech advocates can scarcely abide.

The Playhouse West Standard, published quarterly, is available for an annual subscription fee of $20. For further information about the *Standard* or Playhouse West, contact Robert Carnegie, Playhouse West, 4250 Lankershim Blvd., North Hollywood, CA 91602, 818/766-3766.

In Brief....

Reason Foundation
A recent Reason study — "Breaking Free of Federal Grant Restrictions: Making Infrastructure Privatization a Real Option" — addresses creative ways state and local governments can handle budget shortfalls without tax increases (Wilson administration policy strategists *please* take note) by privatizing major infrastructure assets such as airports, highways, and wastewater treatment plants thus freeing capital tied up in these physical assets to meet *human* capital needs, like education and training. A second paper — "Building a Safer and More Effective Air Traffic Control System" — shows how privatizing the nation's Air Traffic Control System would make air travel safer. This study received major coverage on seven Los Angeles television stations. Contact: Kevin Teasley, director of Public Affairs, the Reason Foundation, 2716 Ocean Park Blvd., Ste. 1062, Santa Monica, CA 90405, 213/392-0443.

Gun Owners of California
G.O.C., a group "dedicated to crime control not gun control," has been running full-page ads in California newspapers featuring a four-inch-tall notice: "THERE ARE NO GUNS IN THIS HOUSEHOLD" followed by the question: "Would you stick this sign in your front window?" The ad goes on to say: "Many legislators naively believe disarming the public would deter crime. To the contrary . . . . [b]anning citizen rights of gun ownership would, in effect, put a 'no guns' sign in the window of every California home." Not surprisingly, the ad caused a stir around the capitol when it ran in the *Sacramento Union*. For more information, contact: John Stoos, executive director, Gun Owners, 3440 Viking Dr., Ste. 106, Sacramento, CA 95827, 916/361-3109. CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Commentary

The Pitfalls of "Pragmatism"

DURING THE past 30 years, the tax burden on a median-income American family has risen from 14 to about 25 percent. Now Gov. Pete Wilson proposes increasing taxes even further. This, we are told, is "pragmatism," "budget leadership," "realistic." Actually, it is cowardice. As politically difficult as higher taxes may prove down the road, Wilson apparently prefers to take his chances with that fallout rather than go to war against the admittedly powerful forces responsible for the reprehensible looting of ordinary Americans' wallets through taxation.

The issue is far less one of cash and government financing or even of the state of the economy than it is the issue of freedom. Wilson's famous "pragmatism" is little more than a studied refusal to recognize that more is going on in front of his eyes than gentlemen disagreeing about governmental procedure. America's retreat down the road to serfdom through taxes is but one part of a general flight from freedom, which consists of people governing themselves and their money, toward socialism, which is a headlong retreat from individual and every other kind of responsibility.

THE TRANSFER of one-fourth of ordinary families' wealth from their own control to that of a rapacious bureaucracy is only part of the story. Consider, for instance, this description of how the current budget crisis came about:

"The fact is, it took years . . . . the same Democrats who control the Legislature wrote the laws, created the formulas and assembled piece by piece the powertrain that is driving the budget machine.

"When it came time to make hard decisions, marathon negotiating sessions all too often ended with important financial decisions being delayed or put off entirely. At such times, experts say, state officeholders planted fiscal time bombs by using accounting gimmicks, borrowing from pension plans, selling bonds in record numbers, and adopting various 'smoke and mirrors' tricks that made it seem like the state had balanced budgets when, in fact, the budgets were balanced only on paper."

The analysis of some conservative think tank or GOP caucus staffer? No, this account appeared in the *Los Angeles Times*. Our purpose is not to make partisan points — Republicans can be found who joined in these activities — but to emphasize that now, as always, the problem is government or, rather, the escapist mentality that turns to government as a "solution," as though freedom were a problem. Once abandon the proposition that responsibility for the disposal of wealth should remain with those who create it and one needn't hope to find responsibility popping back up again somewhere down the line. Look at the array of devices those in government — with, at times, the connivance of the voters — employ to escape responsibility for running things:

ROUGHLY 92 PERCENT of the state budget is running on autopilot — the money is disposed of according to pre-set requirements without the Legislature or governor having to get into the messy business of governing. What on Earth do these folks *do* with all the time on their hands? Run for office? No — the gerrymander and all sorts of built-in incumbent advantages were painstakingly constructed to relieve them of that responsibility.

So what do they do? About all that can be confidently predicted is that powerful special interests will be protected (Wilson's parental choice in education proposal, for instance, and Assemblyman Tom McClintock's plans to rein in the state's Public Employee Retirement System will go nowhere), tax cuts of the past (though they rarely did more than slow rates of increase) will be blamed for the budget crisis, and, as certain as the turning of the Earth, Assemblyman John Vasconcellos will be heard whining at every opportunity for more money for starved programs of every size, shape, and variety imaginable.

"A PASSIONATE, tumultuous age will overthrow everything, pull everything down," wrote Søren Kierkegaard, "but a revolutionary age that is at the same time reflective and passionless leaves everything standing but cunningly empties it of significance."

The accumulating rape of the taxpayers is our current age's revolution: a revolt against freedom and self-government. But it is a passionless, reflective revolution, not characterized by radical exhuberance so much as by recourse, as justification, to empty notions like "pragmatism." It is a revolution that drains the significance from both voting and holding office as incumbencies that can't be lost and autopilot government re-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sacramento Spectator

Gov. Harold Hill

OH WE'VE got trouble, right here in River City. It starts with "T" and that means TAXES. Gov. Pete Wilson's proposal to raise taxes by $6.5 billion has done severe damage to his ability to work with GOP conservatives over the long haul.

Republicans in the Legislature complain most that 1) the plan was announced without any input or consultation with legislative GOP leaders and 2) the $6.5 billion figure was Wilson's *opening* offer to the Democrats — i.e. sure to be ratcheted upward in budget negotiations.

Your *Spectator* was among those conservatives last fall urging my brethren on the right to hold our noses and vote for Wilson. Because of reapportionment, I still stick by that move. However, Wilson is playing a dangerous game with the future of the party.

One of the few campaign issues that *always* works for Republicans against Democrats is the tax and spend issue. Voters have known instinctively that the Democrats were the High Tax party and that the GOP was the Control Spending party. George Bush caved in last fall to the congressional tax-raisers — a move that cost the GOP substantial gains in November.

WILSON'S MOVE — coming on top of Bush's — serves to blur further the line on one of the few effective campaign issues that Republicans have enjoyed for almost *30 years*. This *Spectator* has heard from authoritative sources (I have virtually no other kind) that the method behind this madness for the governor is the long term plan to become president. The media — always eager for more taxes — will praise Wilson's "moderation" *and* "leadership." The GOP in California will likely be punished by the voters in return. But after all, when your ultimate goal is 1600 Pennsylvania Ave., some sacrifices have to be made.

As you can imagine, this scenario infuriates both conservatives and long-time party activists of many stripes. If the budget negotiations do not go *absolutely* smoothly, major problems could develop for the governor inside the GOP. He's playing a high risk game. Unfortunately, the real losers if he fails are the Republican Party, its activists, and candidates.

CONSERVATIVE COMMENTATOR (and staunch friend of *California Political Review*) Bruce Herschensohn is off to a fast start in his quest for Alan Cranston's Senate seat. Unlike six years ago, Herschensohn realizes the need for early money — and lots of it — as well as statewide exposure beyond his Southern California base. If other conservatives don't enter the race and split the vote, Herschensohn will trounce liberal Rep. Tom Campbell in the primary. Then — dare we dream it — a general election against Jerry Brown? Naw, probably too good to be true. And besides, the Doomocrats would never be that nice to us, would they?

IN THE additional good news department, conservative, pro-life candidates absolutely trounced liberal, pro-abortion opponents in two recent special elections for the state Senate. You didn't see this reported and "analyzed" in the media? The *Spectator* is entirely too young to be sooo cynical.

These elections elevated Assemblyman John Lewis, R-Anaheim, and Assemblyman Tim Leslie, R-Sacramento, to the Senate. Their arrival, when added to Bill Leonard, Ed Royce, and Frank Hill, means that after a long absence the Senate GOP caucus may actually start exhibiting some backbone. Long considered a "push over" by the liberals in town, the Senate Republicans finally may become key players. It's long overdue.

AND LASTLY — making the rounds of Sacramento watering holes: finally, a public safety "waiting period" bill conservatives can support: a proposal to require a seven-day delay before Ted Kennedy can buy a bottle of scotch . . . .

—*A.P.C.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

place genuine democracy. And it drains freedom as well, as now 14, now 20, now 25 percent of our lives — and tomorrow how much more? — is consumed by this mindless machine with no one at the helm.

Pete Wilson *should* go to war against the powerful forces responsible for looting ordinary Americans' wallets. He should begin by using the considerable power of his office to reassure the voters that the budget crisis is not their fault for failing to pay more taxes but the fault of those held captive by the delusion that freedom is a problem for which government is the solution. In Sacramento, nothing is heard so often as the claim that government can't be cut. Nonsense. The mechanisms that supposedly lock-in automatic spending were put together by men and can be dismantled the same way. What's needed isn't tax increases but Wilson's leadership in focusing the voters' wrath where it belongs: on those with the power to make the necessary changes. When the heat comes, they'll perform as directed.

Civil Rights and Double Standards

THE WAY to get ACLU-types to forego their usual objections to government-imposed morality is to package it as economic regulation and call it civil rights policy. Thus, while it is supposed to be wrong to pray before a voluntary gathering at a public high school graduation ceremony (that's "state-imposed religion"), it's OK to send the state into private businesses to require owners to conform to all sorts of left-wing moral prescriptions (that's "civil rights"). A good example of the double standard is provided by the current attempt to amend California's Fair Employment and Housing Act to add the phrase "sexual orientation" to the list of impermissable bases (along with race, religious creed, color, and so forth) for discrimination in housing and employment. This legislation — AB 101 — is an attempt to resurrect former Assemblyman (now San Francisco Mayor) Art Agnos's old AB 1, passed by the Legislature and wisely vetoed by Gov. George Deukmejian in 1984.

An argument advanced by the bill's supporters is that "sexual orientation" is not a matter of individual choice but something people possess irresistably, like skin color, and that therefore it is intrinsically unfair, not to mention irrational, to consider it as a basis for making moral judgments. This line skips over the real moral question, though, which is not: *Am I tempted to behave in one way or another?* but, rather, *What do I do about the temptation?* It would be unfair to condemn a man tempted to avarice or anger regardless of his actual behavior, but it is not at all unfair to avoid the company of people who indulge these temptations, imposing upon those around them the unpleasantness that goes with such indulgence. To say a man cannot determine or change his sexual inclinations is by no means to say he can't control how he responds to them.

ANOTHER ARGUMENT is that regardless of the morality, or lack thereof, of one's sexual behavior, it's nobody's business but the individual or individuals involved. To adhere to this rule, California would, at the very least, have to repeal laws against prostitution and polygamy and, of course, the absurd idea that law should include nothing that can be called individual morality would, if applied consistently, undermine every law on the books. But, then, AB 101 has nothing to do with *state* action anyway, but private behavior. Here the going gets difficult to justify indeed.

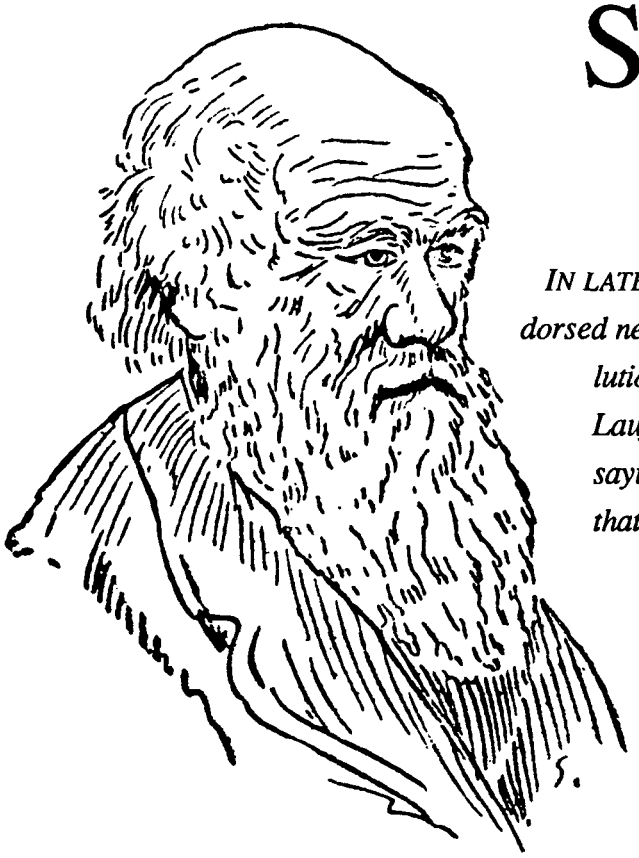
AB 101 says that not only at the state level but also in private contracts the people of California *must* adopt the position that sexual behavior has no more or less moral content than the individual involved chooses to assign to it. It presumes that beliefs to the contrary are irrational and, if acting upon such beliefs causes anyone to lose out in employment or housing, that such actions are intolerable. This is plainly an overt attack on traditional American family values. It's no use trying to pretend this is good old-fashioned American tolerance; tolerance is exactly what AB 101 repudiates. It raises the radical homosexual political and social ethic as the standard of our state and imposes severe legal sanctions upon anyone who chooses to register his rejection of that standard through his actions as an employer or as an owner of housing.

NOW, IF we're going to get into the business of imposing moral codes on people, the debate is then opened as to which, or whose, morals are superior — those of the homosexual community or those, say, of Jerry Falwell? Should we prosecute employers who *hire* homosexuals if their side loses that debate? The tough thing about legislating morality is that it's hard to say, when the arena is politics, that *our* side is going to win. Another difficulty is that no one can reach into another man's soul and rearrange it to be better than it was. All the state can do is mete out crude punishments. We thought keeping the state *out* of this sort of business was what civil liberties was all about. CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EVOLUTION

Science's Closed Question?



CHARLES ROBERT DARWIN

IN LATE SEPTEMBER 1989 the California Curriculum Commission endorsed new guidelines for the state's science textbooks that referred to evolution as "scientific fact." State Board of Education Chairman Francis Laufenberg then set off anguished howls from various quarters by saying the "evolution as fact" passage violated a board requirement that "nothing should be taught dogmatically."

"To claim that teaching evolution and science is dogmatic," said Michael Hudson of People for the American Way, "is like claiming that to teach the Earth is round or two plus two equal four is dogmatic." When the Board of Education later dropped the "fact" designation from the guidelines, UC Berkeley Biophysics Professor Thomas H. Jukes accused it of succumbing "to religious right pressure by obscuring (without actually denying) the existence of evolution as a fact." A Los Angeles Times *editorial said the board's "skittishness . . . defies all logic" and was "making thinking people across the country nervous."*

IN THE INTEREST of calming down the nation's thinking people, California Political Review *offers Hudson, Jukes, the* Times *editorial board, and anyone interested in the intellectual quality of science education in California, the following adaptation from Phillip Johnson's* Darwin on Trial. *We also invite consideration of two questions in light of what Johnson reports: (1) If Darwinian evolution has not, in fact, been scientifically proven, what are we to make of a Curriculum Commission seemingly more interested in closing down inquiry than in encouraging thoughtful consideration of the evidence — gaps and all? (2) Is Darwinism's core assumption — that miraculous explanations of the origin of species can't possibly be true and that therefore evolution must be the answer — any less a matter of blind faith than creationism? And if it is blind faith, what is it doing in our science classrooms?*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EVOLUTION IS taught in the public schools (and presented in the media) not as a theory but as a fact, the "fact of evolution." There are nonetheless many dissidents, some with advanced scientific degrees, who deny that evolution is a fact and who insist that an intelligent Creator caused all living things to come into being in furtherance of a purpose.

Neo-Darwinist Pseudoscience

by
Phillip E. Johnson

One point that drew my attention to the question was that the very persons who insist upon keeping religion and science separate are eager to use their science as a basis for pronouncements about religion. The literature of Darwinism (by "Darwinism" I mean fully naturalistic evolution, involving chance mechanisms guided by natural selection) is full of anti-theistic conclusions, such as that the universe was not designed and has no purpose, and that we humans are the product of blind natural processes that care nothing about us. What is more, these statements are not presented as personal opinions but as the logical implications of evolutionary science.

Richard Dawkins, an Oxford zoologist who is one of the most influential figures in evolutionary science, is unabashedly explicit about the religious side of Darwinism. His 1986 book *The Blind Watchmaker* is at one level about biology, but at a more fundamental level it is a sustained argument for atheism. According to Dawkins, "Darwin made it possible to be an intellectually fulfilled atheist."

WHEN HE contemplates the perfidy of those who refuse to believe, Dawkins can scarcely restrain his fury. "It is absolutely safe to say that, if you meet somebody who claims not to believe in evolution, that person is ignorant, stupid or insane (or wicked, but I'd rather not consider that)." Dawkins went on to explain, by the way, that what he dislikes particularly about creationists is that they are intolerant.

Phillip E. Johnson, professor of law at UC Berkeley's Boalt Hall, is the author of Darwin on Trial *(Regnery Gateway, 1991), from which this article is adapted.*

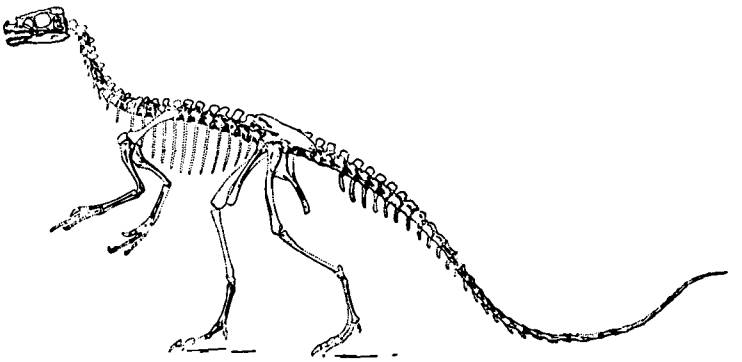
The question I want to investigate is whether Darwinism is based upon a fair assessment of the scientific evidence, or whether it is another kind of fundamentalism. Do we really know for certain that there exists some natural process by which human beings and all other living beings could have evolved from microbial ancestors, and eventually from non-living matter? When the National Academy of Sciences tells us that reliance upon naturalistic explanation is the most basic characteristic of science, is it implying that scientists somehow know that a Creator played no part in the creation of the world and its forms of life? Can something be non-science but true, or does non-science mean non-*sense*? Given the emphatic endorsement of naturalistic evolution by the scientific community, can outsiders even contemplate the possibility that this officially established doctrine might be false? Well, come along and let us see.

Natural Selection

The Darwinian hypothesis about natural selection is that (in combination with mutation) it is an innovative evolutionary process capable of producing new kinds of organs and organisms. What evidence confirms that this hypothesis is true? Douglas Futuyma has done the best job of marshalling the supporting evidence and here are the examples he gives of observations that confirm the creative effectiveness of natural selection:

1. Bacteria naturally develop resistance to antibiotics, and insect pests become resistant to insecticides, because of the differential survival of mutant forms possessing the advantage of resistance.

2. In 1898 a severe storm in Massachusetts left hundreds of dead and dying birds in its wake. Someone brought 136 exhausted sparrows to a scientist named Bumpus, I imagine so they could be cared for, but Bumpus was made of sterner stuff and killed the survivors to measure their skeletons. He found that among male sparrows the larger birds had survived more fre-



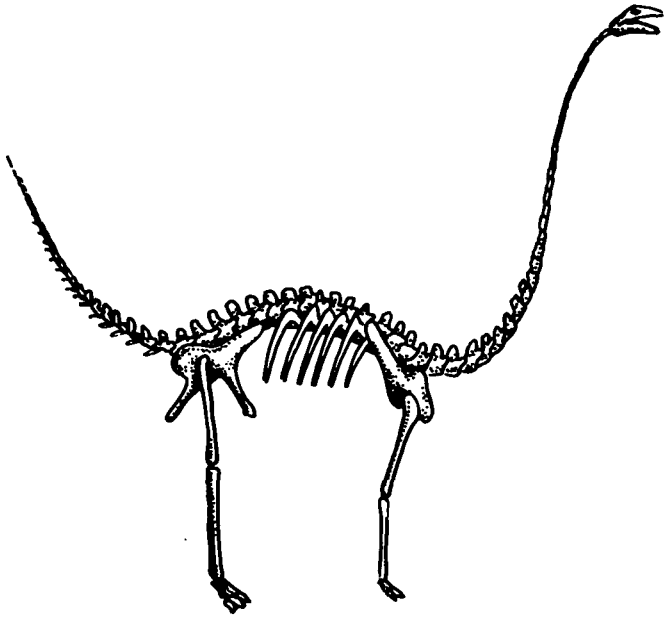
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

quently than the smaller ones, even though the size differential was relatively slight.

3. A drought in the Galapagos Islands in 1977 caused a shortage of the small seeds on which finches feed. As a consequence these birds had to eat larger seeds, which they usually ignore. After one generation there had been so much mortality among the smaller finches, who could not easily eat the larger seeds, that the average size of the birds (and especially their beaks) went up appreciably. Futuyma comments: "Very possibly the birds will evolve back to their previous state if the environment goes back to normal, but we can see in this example what would happen if the birds were forced to live in a consistently dry environment: they would evolve a permanent adaptation to whatever kinds of seeds are consistently available. This is natural selection in action, and it is not a matter of chance."

According to Dawkins, 'Darwin made it possible to be an intellectually fulfilled atheist.'

4. The allele (genetic state) responsible for sickle-cell anemia in African populations is also associated with a trait that confers resistance to malaria. Individuals who are totally free of the sickle-cell allele suffer high mortality from malaria, and individuals who inherit the sickle-cell allele from both parents tend to die early from anemia. Chances for survival are greatest when the individual inherits the sickle-cell allele from one parent but not the other, and so the trait is not bred out of the population. Futuyma comments that the example shows not only that natural selection is effective, but also that it is "an uncaring mechanical process."



5. Mice populations have been observed to cease reproducing and become extinct when they are temporarily "flooded" by the spread of a gene which causes sterility in the males.

6. Finally, Futuyma summarized Kettlewell's famous observations of "industrial melanism" in the peppered moth. When trees were darkened by industrial smoke, dark-colored (melanic) moths became abundant because predators had difficulty seeing them against the trees. When the trees became lighter due to reduced air pollution, the lighter-colored moths had the advantage. Kettlewell's observations showed in detail how the prevailing color of moths changed along with the prevailing color of the trees. Subsequent commentators have observed that the example shows stability as well as cyclical change within a boundary, because the ability of the species to survive in a changing environment is enhanced if it maintains at all times a supply of both light and dark moths. If the light variety had disappeared altogether during the years of dark trees, the species would have been threatened with extinction when the trees lightened.

FUTUYMA PROVIDES other examples, but I believe they are meant as illustrations to show how Darwinism accounts for certain anomalies rather than as additional examples confirming natural selection's effect in producing change. If we take these six examples as the best available observational evidence of natural selection, we can draw two conclusions:

1. There is no reason to doubt that peculiar circumstances can sometimes favor drug-resistant bacteria, or large birds as opposed to small ones, or dark-colored moths as opposed to light-colored ones. In such circumstances, the population of drug-susceptible bacteria, small birds, and light-colored moths may become reduced for some period of time, or as long as the circumstances prevail.

2. None of the "proofs" provides any persuasive reason for believing that natural selection can produce new species, new organs, or other major changes, or even minor changes that are permanent. The sickle-cell anemia case, for example, merely shows that in special circumstances an apparently disadvantageous trait may not be eliminated from the population. That larger birds have an advantage over smaller birds in high winds or

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

droughts has no tendency whatever to prove that similar factors caused birds to come into existence in the first place. Very likely smaller birds have the advantage in other circumstances, which explains why birds are not continually becoming larger.

Pierre Grassé was as unimpressed by this kind of evidence as I am. He summarized his conclusions at the end of his chapter on evolution and natural selection:

> The "evolution in action" of J. Huxley and other biologists is simply the observation of demographic facts, local fluctuations of genotypes, geographical distributions. Often the species concerned have remained practically unchanged for hundreds of centuries! Fluctuation as a result of circumstances, with prior modification of the genome, does not imply evolution, and we have tangible proof of this in many panchronic species (i.e. living fossils that remain unchanged for millions of years). . . .

Natural selection is the most famous element in Darwinism, but not necessarily the most important. Selection merely preserves or destroys something that already exists. Mutation has to provide the favorable innovations before natural selection can retain and encourage them. That brings us to our next subject.

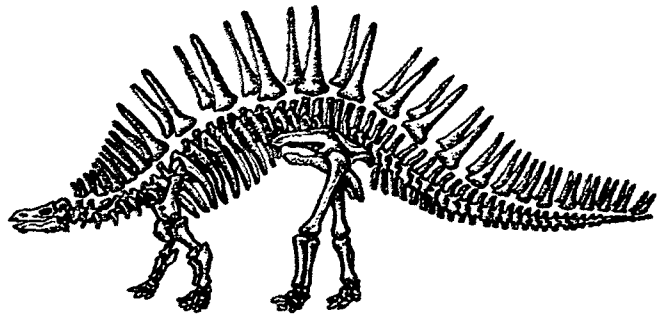
Mutations Great and Small

To achieve a fully materialistic theory Darwin had to explain every complex characteristic or major transformation as the cumulative product of a great many tiny steps. In his own eloquent words:

> Natural selection can act only by the preservation and accumulation of infinitesimally small inherited modifications, each profitable to the preserved being; and as modern geology has almost banished such views as the excavation of a great valley by a single diluvial wave, so will natural selection, if it be a true principle, banish the belief of the continued creation of new organic beings, or of any great and sudden modification in their structure.

T. H. Huxley protested against this dogmatic gradualism from the start, warning Darwin in a famous letter that "You have loaded yourself with an unnecessary difficulty in adopting *natura non facit saltum* so unreservedly." The difficulty was hardly unnecessary, given Darwin's purpose, but it was real enough. In the long term the biggest problem was the fossil record, which did not provide evidence of the many transitional forms that Darwin's theory required to have existed. Darwin made the obvious response, arguing that the evidence was lacking because the fossil record was incomplete — a reasonable possibility at the time, and conveniently safe from disproof; we shall return to it.

The more pressing difficulty was theoretical. Many organs require an intricate combination of complex parts to perform their functions. The eye and the wing are the most common illustrations, but it would be misleading to give the impression that either is a special case; human and animal bodies are literally packed with similar marvels. How can such things be built up by "infinitesimally small inherited variations, *each* profitable to the preserved being?" The first step towards a new function — such as vision or ability to fly — would not necessarily provide any advantage unless the other essentials for the function appeared at the same time. As an analogy, imagine a medieval alchemist producing by chance a silicon microchip; without a



supporting computer technology the prodigious invention would be useless and he would throw it away.

For an animal to have any useful vision at all, many complex parts must be working together. Even a complete eye is useless unless it belongs to a creature with mental and neural capacity to use the information by doing something that furthers survival or reproduction.

The wing, which exists in quite distinct forms in insects, birds, and bats, is the other most frequently cited puzzle. In *Evolution: A Theory in Crisis*, Australian biologist Michael Denton describes the exquisitely functional avian feather, with its interlocking hooks and other intricate features that make it suitable for flight and quite distinct from any form of feather used for warmth. Bird feathers must have evolved from reptilian scales if Darwinism is true, but once again the intermediates are hard to imagine. The distinctive avian lung, which is quite different in structure than that of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

any conceivable evolutionary ancestor, presents a still more difficult problem. According to Denton:

> Just how such a different respiratory system could have evolved gradually from the standard vertebrate design is fantastically difficult to envisage, especially bearing in mind that the maintenance of respiratory function is absolutely vital to the life of an organism to the extent that the slightest malfunction leads to death within minutes. Just as the feather cannot function as an organ of flight until the hooks and barbules are coadapted to fit together perfectly, so the avian lung cannot function as an organ of respiration until the parabronchi system which permeates it and the air sac system which guarantees the parabronchi their air supply are both highly developed and able to function together in a perfectly integrated manner.

Whether one finds the gradualist scenarios for the development of complex systems plausible involves an element of subjective judgment. It is a matter of objective fact, however, that these scenarios are speculation. Bird and bat wings appear in the fossil record already developed, and no one has ever confirmed that the gradual evolution of wings and eyes is possible. This absence of historical or experimental confirmation is presumably what Harvard Professor Stephen Jay Gould — a distinguished paleontologist often critical of Darwinists who nonetheless considers evolution indisputable — had in mind when he wrote that "These tales, in the 'just-so' tradition of evolutionary natural history, do not prove anything." Are we dealing here with science or with rationalist versions of Kipling's fables?

Suppose, following a massive research program, that scientists succeed in altering the genetic program of a fish embryo so that it develops as an amphibian. Would this hypothetical triumph of genetic engineering confirm that amphibians actually evolved, or at least could have evolved, in similar fashion? No it wouldn't, because Gould and the others who postulate developmental macromutations are talking about *random* changes, not changes elaborately planned by human (or divine) intelligence. A random change in the program governing my word processor could easily transform this chapter into unintelligible gibberish, but it would not translate the chapter into a foreign language, or produce a coherent chapter about something else. What the proponents of developmental macromutations need to establish is not merely that there is an alterable genetic program governing development, but that important evolutionary innovations can be produced by random changes in the genetic instructions.

The prevailing assumption in evolutionary science seems to be that speculative possibilities, without experimental confirmation, are all that is really necessary. The principle at work is: nature must have provided whatever evolution had to have, because otherwise evolution wouldn't have happened. Materialist scientists are full of scorn for creationists who invoke an invisible Creator who employed supernatural powers that cannot be observed operating in our own time. If evolutionary science must also rely upon mystical guiding forces or upon genetically impossible transformations, a philosophical materialist like Charles Darwin would call it rubbish.

The Fossil Problem

Today it is widely assumed that the existence of fossil remains of numerous extinct species necessarily implies evolution, and most people are unaware that Darwin's most formidable opponents were not clergymen, but fossil experts.

The single greatest problem which the fossil record poses for Darwinism is the "Cambrian explosion" of around 600 million years ago. All the animal phyla appear in the rocks of this period, without a trace of the evolutionary ancestors that Darwinists require. As Richard Dawkins puts it, "It is as though they were just planted there, without any evolutionary history." In Darwin's time there was no evidence for the existence of pre-Cambrian life, and he conceded in *The Origin of Species* that "The case at present must remain inexplicable, and may be truly urged as a valid argument against the views here entertained." If his theory was true, Darwin wrote, the pre-Cambrian world must have "swarmed with living creatures."

In recent years evidence of bacteria and algae has

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

been found in some of the earth's oldest rocks, and it is generally accepted today that these single-celled forms of life may have first appeared as long ago as four billion years. Bacteria and algae are "prokaryotes," which means each creature consists of a single cell without a nucleus and related organelles. More complex "eukaryote" cells (with a nucleus) appeared later, and then dozens of independent groups of multicellular animals appeared without any visible process of evolutionary development. Darwinist theory requires that there have been very lengthy sets of intermediate forms between unicellular organisms and animals like insects, worms, and clams. But the evidence that these existed is missing, and with no good excuse.

Instead we see the basic body plans all appearing first, many of these becoming extinct, and further diversification proceeding strictly within the boundaries of the original phyla. These original Cambrian groups have no visible evolutionary history. Maybe a few evolutionary intermediates existed for some of the groups, although none have been conclusively identified, but otherwise just about all we have between complex multicellular animals and single cells are theoretical formulations like Gould's "fast-transition" (the theory that the Cambrian body plans evolved rapidly, with no pre-Cambrian ancestors). We can call this thoroughly un-Darwinian scenario "evolution," but we are just attaching a label to a mystery.

Gould's Punctuated Equilibrium

The fossil problem for Darwinism is getting worse all the time. Darwinist paleontologists can scarcely contain their rage when creationists point this out, but what they write themselves is extraordinarily revealing. As usual, Gould is the most interesting commentator.

After attending a geological conference on mass extinctions, Gould wrote a remarkable essay reflecting on how the evidence was turning against Darwinism. He told his readers that he had long been puzzled by the lack of evidence of progressive development over time in the invertebrates with which he was most familiar. "We can tell tales of improvement for some groups, but in honest moments we must admit that the history of complex life is more a story of multifarious variation about a set of basic designs than a saga of accumulating excellence." But Darwinist evolution should be a story of improvement in fitness, so Gould regarded "the failure to find a clear 'vector of progress' in life's history as the most puzzling fact of the fossil record."

As a possible solution, Gould proposed what he called "punctuated equilibrium" — a scenario consisting of long periods of no change "punctuated" by rapid bursts of evolution. Under these circumstances evolution would not be a story of gradual adaptive improvement but would "often involve no reference to traditional expectations for improvement in morphological design." Gould's handling of the situation is instructive. He first points out glaring problems in the fossil record, but then treats them as requiring no more than possible revisions of our understanding of *how* evolution occurred, not *whether* it occurred at all. Examination and inquiry are always directed to fleshing out Darwinism in detail, never to testing its fundamental elements. Gareth Nelson of the American Museum of Natural History has expressed in plain language what this has meant in practice:

Life's history is more a story of variation around a set of basic designs than one of accumulating improvement.

> "We've got to have some ancestors. We'll pick those." Why? "Because we know they have to be there, and these are the best candidates." That's by and large the way it has worked. I am not exaggerating.

Just about everyone who took a college biology course during the last 60 years or so has been led to believe that the fossil record was a bulwark of support for the classic Darwinian thesis, not a liability that had to be explained away. And if we didn't take a biology class we saw *Inherit the Wind* and laughed along with everybody else when Clarence Darrow made a monkey out of William Jennings Bryan. But I wonder if Bryan would have looked like such a fool if he could have found a distinguished paleontologist having one of those "honest moments," and produced him as a surprise witness to tell the jury and the theater audience that the fossil record shows a consistent pattern of sudden appearance followed by stasis, that life's history is more a story of variation around a set of basic designs than one of accumulating improvement, that extinction has been predominantly by catastrophe rather than gradual obsolescence, and that orthodox interpretations of the fossil record often owe more to Darwinist pre-

(Please turn to page 30)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Herd of Independent Thinkers

In Search of Diversity at Stanford

by
Dinesh D'Souza

WHEN I WAS a student in India, my school had kids who were liberals, libertarians, socialists, communists — one or two — theocrats, advocates of the caste system: this was diversity, a wide array of views on any disputed question. This is not what is meant by "diversity" on most American campuses.

I could assemble a catalogue of political positions such as: Stanford University should redouble its hiring of minority faculty, there should be more funding for the Third World Center, multicultural courses should infuse the entire curriculum, there should be sensitivity education in every theme house or dormitory, and so on. My point is not that all of these things are bad, but that they come with the implication that if you are for them, you're for diversity. If you disagree — with *any* of them — you are against diversity and you become, immediately, a target for automatic vilification, for abuse, or for sensitivity education or therapy. When universities say that if you conform to this agenda you're for diversity, if you're against it, you're against diversity, the term "diversity" acquires a new meaning connoting conformity and a kind of homogeneity of thought. The critic Harold Rosenberg had a rather apt term for this. He called it "the herd of independent thinkers." I don't think it is hard to see why the enforcement of this regimen — which includes not just views but also etiquette — the enforcement of these *manners* is antithetical to a liberal education that seeks to promote wide debate.

How are manners enforced on selective campuses like Stanford or Dartmouth or Harvard? A student coming onto campus very often wants to get away from the "barbarian" high school ethic and learn what it means to be a Stanford Man or Stanford Woman. Let's say you — the student — go to a faculty cocktail party and say: "Professor, I'm rather distressed about the communist plot in Nicaragua." Does the professor argue with you? No, he does not. He simply gives you a slightly askance, disdainful look, as if to say: "Young man, are you from Iowa?" There is an implication of unsophistication: you *gauche* young lad. And so, young people internalize this: "Oh-ho! A bit of a gaffe, there." And the next time you are at a faculty reception, you are sounding forth about no easy answers to complex questions, the world is not black and white, and so on — to much accolade and applause. Thus, through etiquette, through manners, political and philosophical values are transmitted. To go against this etiquette is not only to be wrong but, worse, to be rude, to trespass on the principle of community.

NOW, FOR the first time, these pressures are being felt in the classroom. There are several examples of professors who teach the sensitive topics surrounding race and gender who have been hectored and haranged for expressing controversial but often quite reasonable views on these questions. At Harvard, a social historian, Stephan Thernstrom, had a complaint filed against him with the university's racial harassment committee. One of the charges against Thernstrom was that in class he had read aloud from the journals of slaveholders. Prof. Thernstrom pleaded guilty but said: Look, I'm trying to give students a picture of the justifications the slaveholders made for their actions.

One of the main charges against Thernstrom was that he had defined affirmative action in class as "preferential treatment for minorities," a pretty reasonable account of the way affirmative action is applied in practice. And yet, students in his class told the *Harvard*

Excerpted from an April 17, 1991, talk at Stanford University by American Enterprise Institute Research Fellow Dinesh D'Souza. D'Souza's book, Illiberal Education, *is reviewed in this issue's "Books" section.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crimson that Professor Thernstrom was saying they didn't deserve to be there and they took grievous offense. It is true that talking about affirmative action raises the questions: Who belongs to the community? Who is qualified? Who deserves to be here? So to protect the sensitivities of these students, there was a campaign of vilification against Thernstrom. No, he didn't lose his tenure, but the administration issued a kind of pompous statement saying professors should be careful about what they say, and Thernstrom was allowed to roast on the public spit with the administration uttering not one word in defense of his academic freedom for several weeks. So, there is a sense in which professors who teach these subjects must walk on eggshells. If you are "politically correct," a great deal of excess is often tolerated, even encouraged, but if you are not, if you are raising tough questions, you have to be very careful to watch what you say.

WE ALSO hear a broader claim: that the entire curriculum reflects the privileged ethos of that much-maligned, and malignant, creature, the white, male heterosexual, and that the curriculum should be opened up — "diversified" — to make room for other perspectives: women's perspectives, non-Western perspectives, minority perspectives, and so on. When I was a freshman at Dartmouth, there were some subjects for which I was not well prepared. I didn't have, for example, a thorough exposure to American history and professors at good schools often assume that the students know an awful lot. A professor comes into class and says: "Today we will talk about *The Federalist Papers* — Publius' view of 'faction' — Book 10: Hamilton v. Madison." Well, to me this was a rather unfamiliar and somewhat bewildering series of names.

Why was Shakespeare elevated to fame? Was it because he was whiter, or more masculine than everybody else? No, it was the content of his ideas

Publius? Book 10? faction? Hamilton? Who were these people? What did they have to do with each other?

In this atmosphere, you feel a pang of self-doubt. You begin to ask yourself the classic affirmative action question: Do I belong here? Do I deserve to be here? Am I as smart as everybody else? I remember in my class looking around and seeing all these darned white kids, incredibly smart it seemed to me and at home in this material, and feeling a pang of envy, even of hostility.

So when a professor at a good school expects students to know about the amoeba, expects you to be able to perform an equation, expects you to know that Max Weber is connected to the Protestant ethic, expects you to read *Hamlet* by Tuesday . . . think about it: read *Hamlet*? — bizarre Elizabethan prose, funny commas. Reading Shakespeare is kind of an acquired taste. When a college admits students who are dramatically less prepared than others and asks students to do such things as read *Hamlet* by Tuesday, it is rather tempting for students to believe that the reason they are having difficulty meeting the assignment is not because they are not well-enough prepared, but because Shakespeare was a white male. There is a tendency to attribute to the curriculum a kind of systemic, racial, gender, heterosexist bias that closes it to women and minorities and to people from other countries.

THIS IS a serious charge. What does it mean to say that the curriculum is a white, male, heterosexual construct? Let me give one example. Isaac Newton was, in fact, a white male. Isaac Newton might have been a heterosexual. But what does this have to do with the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

theory of gravity? Is it the case that women, Hispanics, or natives of India are disabled from understanding the theory of gravity? It certainly *is* the case that an Indian who jumps out of a tall tower plummets to the ground. The charge appears to confuse the origins of Newton's ideas with their content.

Shakespeare was a white male, but so were a lot of other poets in Elizabethan England. Why was Shakespeare elevated to fame? Why was he made so great? Was it because he was whiter, or more masculine than everybody else? No, it was the content of his ideas — in his sonnets, his plays, his prose, in the broad reach of his imagination.

THE DEMAND, shrilly made, that the curriculum should represent different groups — white, black, Hispanic, women, Third World, and so on — is nothing more than the principle of proportional representation projected onto the reading list — affirmative action for books. This creates on many American campuses a kind of perverse cultural Olympics in which each group comes to the reading list and asks: What did my guys do? The reduction of ideas to the narrow categories of race and gender is really an obstacle to liberal education's true purpose which is to teach us to attempt to cross these narrow boundaries. I do not feel I am any less able to read Dickens than most Americans. I do not believe I *should* not read Dickens because the British invaded India. And I don't like to concede Homer to white males, most of whom in my experience are notably lacking in Homeric qualities. It's certainly possible for me to develop, as a role model, Martin Luther King. So what if he was an African-American? Is it not the case that certain ideals of justice or equality or human rights transcend the narrow particularities of culture?

And should it not be the purpose of liberal education to teach us to reach across boundaries, to make an empathetic leap so that we can attempt to understand others who are very different from us.

Universities often deal poorly with these issues, responding not at the level of justice but at the level of expediency. Imagine, I ask hypothetically, a group of students that forcibly occupies President Donald Kennedy's office and says: "Here are our 32 non-negotiable demands." What does the president do? Does he say: "You accuse Stanford University of being institutionally racist. Why don't we have a debate to scrutinize critically what this rather non-obvious term means? Why don't we challenge its premises? Why don't we try to determine what principles of justice support these claims, these demands?" This almost never happens.

What often happens instead, not just here but elsewhere, is the that university says, in effect: "We will accede. We will give you the first 18 points. We'll set up a task force to implement the next 12, and you guys will have to give us a few weeks on the last two." The universities purchase peace at any price. They want nothing more than to make these disgruntled characters go home. And it seems to me this is a betrayal of the university's function to sponsor lively and robust moral debates on obvious crucial questions. And it is an abdication of the university's responsibility to the legitimate aspirations of minority students.

I'll give you just one example of a failure of leadership. The University of North Carolina has instituted a new policy called the 3.0 Minority Recognition Ceremonies. If you are a black or Hispanic at UNC and you get 3.0 out of 4, you have a prize. The university invites your parents. There's a ceremony. There's a dinner. There are speakers. If you are white or Asian, no such congratulations are considered necessary.

IT'S RATHER easy to see the element of condescension in this, but why would a university adopt such a bizarre policy? Answer: minority activists wrote the UNC administration to say: "Why are we underrepresented in Phi Beta Kappa? Why do we not receive, in proportion, as many prizes or "A"s as white students

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

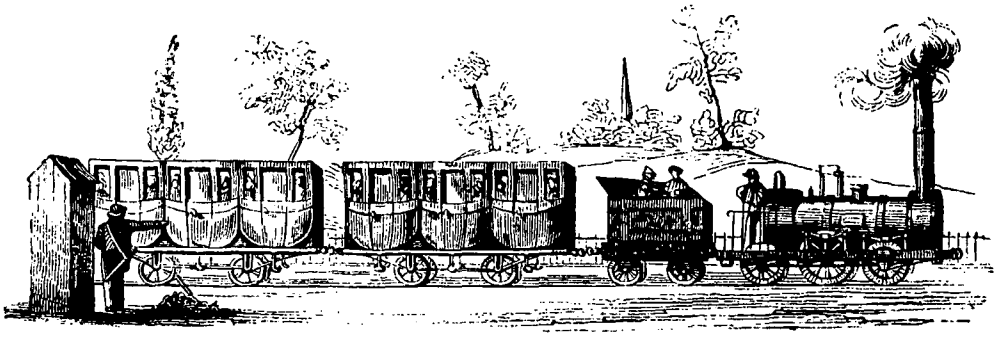
on this campus? The university could repy: "Perhaps one reason is that we practice preferential admission standards. Not everybody who comes here has the same level of academic preparation." But the university denies that it practices this policy. In fact, the university recruits minority students by saying: "Not only are you as well qualified as everyone else, but you bring a special perspective that we could not hope to achieve elsewhere." And so, minority students at UNC have high expectations and reason with a kind of flawless logic: "We were as good as everybody else when we got here. We're not doing as well when we get out. Something is wrong with this place." So they say to the deans: "You are institutionally racist." And the deans say, "Well, we kind-of are, and we will install this 3.0 award so that you can have your prize, too."

Affirmative action generates a kind of peculiar chain reaction that contributes to racial separatism on campus and generates forces in the curriculum to which the university responds, by-and-large, with a kind of acquiesence and, in some cases, with outright cowardice. Plutarch, in one of his essays, asks: How do we distinguish our friends from our flatterers? He replies that there is only one way. When something is going wrong or when you are doing something wrong, your friend will tell you. The flatterer won't; he'll continue to sing your praises. Some of us who are, as the fashionable would say, persons of color begin to feel that those people willing to do a backward somersault every time a demand is made in the name of minorities, no matter how excessive or ridiculous, are not always serving the best interests of minorities.

AS A NEW immigrant and new citizen of this multiracial society, I think it is very important that we have a fair set of rules to arbitrate the differences among groups. We can all live with unequal outcomes if we start the race on the same line. I came in fifth, but that's all right. Everyone else started at the same line as I did; four guys ahead of me, two behind me, that's all right. But if I say: "You start on this line." "You start five yards ahead." "You start 10 yards behind." This is a formula for grievance. Everybody will feel cheated except for the guy who happens to come in first.

UNIVERSITIES ARE practicing discrimination in the name of fighting discrimination. Their catalogues speak of integration, but they promote separatism. That is why the universities that most acutely practice these policies are experiencing many of the most intense problems. When student concerns about these issues are suppressed, they burrow underground, ferment, and sometimes express themselves in the ugly and nasty forms of racial jokes and racial incidents. And when a racial incident happens, the administration says: "More needs to be done," usually referring to an intensification of preferential treatment, a redoubling of double standards, the multiplication of sensitivity education courses, and so on. The university is exacerbating the problem on many campuses.

After making a great deal of progress on race relations in the past 30 years, America has now come to a kind of standstill, and in some respects things are getting worse. One does not have to be a sociologist — in fact, it may help *not* to be one — to realize that we are experiencing some regression, especially in that most progressive of institutions, the American campus. I think it was Bob Dylan who said: "You don't have to be a weatherman to know which way the wind blows." Many students on campus see that these trends, after getting better, are now getting worse. It is time that we stop this invective, this volley of abuse, this enforcement of "politically correct" thinking, that we step back and reflect critically upon the first principles of this great multicultural revolution so we can redirect it constructively to serve better the needs of a changing, increasingly diverse society. CPR



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Forum

Seizing the Initiative

How can California conservatives take the political offensive as we head into the '90s? Where are our opportunities? Where are the opposition's weak points? What lies ahead on the Golden State's political landscape? For answers to these and other questions, California Political Review *recently spoke with veteran political consultant and speechwriter Kenneth L. Khachigian. For more than two decades, Mr. Khachigian has written and helped set strategy for many of California's and the nation's most prominent Republican political heavyweights including Ronald Reagan, Richard Nixon, George Bush, George Deukmejian, and, most recently, new California Attorney General Dan Lungren.*

California Political Review: *What do you see as the relative strengths and weaknesses of Republicans and Democrats, of liberals and conservatives, in Sacramento and around California?*

Khachigian: The conservative cause is still on the ascendancy. The vindication of the Reagan administration's military build-up in the Persian Gulf war has been a boost, especially combined with general unhappiness over last fall's federal budget deal. That should be translated throughout the state in 1992 into successful conservative candidacies.

Issues aside, the gerrymander and the considerable advantages of incumbency have been key barriers to Republicans trying to crack the Democrats' dominance in the Legislature and in California's congressional delegation. Now, redistricting and term limits could bring about a mass upheaval. We've all operated on the premise that anything near a fair redistricting will mean Republicans and conservatives getting elected in larger numbers. Add to that seven new congressional seats and the seats coming open because of Prop. 140, which is encouraging legislators with only a term or two left to run for higher offices, and the ingredients all favor a lot of new faces. Incumbency, therefore, will be moderately less important which means, I think, that we'll see more campaigns in which ideas could actually make a difference.

CPR: *A 1987 article you wrote advising the Reagan administration to go on the offensive made the point that "democracy as practised in Washington today is not a dignified minuet. It consists of epic battles of will and tough applications of political pressure in public and private forums. The Reagan administration cannot play by the Marquis of Queensbury rules." Now we see George Bush hurrying to raise taxes and Pete Wilson, according to the* Los Angeles Times, *making a "conscious" effort "to have better relations with the Democratic-controlled Legislature." Why do GOP office holders, especially chief executives, seem prone to approach democratic politics as if it were, or ought to be, a dignified minuet? Why do they seem loath to engage in tough, confrontational politics, in marked contrast to their Democrat opponents?*

Khachigian: Partly it's that Democrat political activists often come from a history of confrontation and agitation in the anti-war, civil rights, or labor movements. Republicans tend to come from a different background and are less confrontational by nature. The problem is that you are not going to win by trying to get along. You are going to win by creating victories, by defining your positions in stark contrast to the positions of the opposition, by using the language of debate, and articulating your points with polemical passion. Generally, the record bears this out. President Bush's conduct of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Gulf War is perfect: he didn't follow any polls. He didn't make decisions based on demonstrations. He made his own decisions in the face of Democrat opposition, was quietly confrontational, and now has a massive victory. The lesson applies as well to domestic politics: take your position, argue it well, and don't waffle around. Though I think all of us would *prefer* not to be confrontational, in the end it's necessary. As Churchill said of appeasement, you can feed the crocodiles, but they'll still end up at your door.

CPR: *David Horowitz, interviewed in the most recent issue of* California Political Review, *ended by saying that, while Republicans fight elections and the intellectual and policy battles well, they do a poor job of what Horowitz called "trench warfare: day-to-day battle with the left" in such cultural institutions as the press, television, films, and education.*

"The left," he said, "has a thousand organizations that fight on these various cultural issues, but conservatives don't. And the cultural battlefield is now. . .the main field of battle." What is your opinion of his assessment?

Khachigian: I agree with much of it. Part of the explanation is conservative frustration borne of our knowing that we *have* won the intellectual battle, that we have proven the rightness of our policies, but still often have not won the political victories that should follow. Pat Buchanan makes the same point. Yet I think we are doing better than we have in the past. I'm thinking, for instance, of Dana Rohrabacher's courage in challenging the National Endowment for the Arts.

CPR: *But the result of that challenge, so far anyway, would seem to reaffirm the point that the left has us outgunned in this area.*

Khachigian: Yes, but maybe this is the opening shot in a long battle. If more conservatives are elected, the final outcome might be quite different.

Another part of the explanation for this situation is that Republicans have held the presidency for so long. Organizations conservatives built up when they were out of power were depleted in the 1980s as many of their members moved into government. Also, victory removed a lot of the passion for the cause. But the left has plenty of reason to be passionate since they've lost so many battles on the national scene, both in the Reagan and the Bush administrations. They can stir up their activists and raise money because they are on the outside and want passionately to be on the inside again.

CPR: *But there would seem to be something wrong when conservatives feel so much at home in government that they lose interest in private enterprises — so much so that the left is allowed to dominate virtually all the institutions of what is, after all, the private culture. The media, the arts (for the most part), and entertainment are not government programs; they are, strictly speaking, entrepreneurial activities. They should be conservatives' home turf, our strongest, not our weakest, positions, should they not? To what extent have conservatives wasted political victories by abandoning the field in these private areas to the opposition, allowing our opponents, for instance, to set the terms of the debate by allowing them to dominate the nation's communications media?*

Khachigian: It's largely true that we have let the other side shape the debate in the media. The revisionism has already set in about the Persian Gulf War. Dick Gephardt was on the radio today saying, "Gee, I still think sanctions could have worked."

They never give up on their arguments. They never

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

give up on their insistence that what we believe in is wrong.

To some extent we *have* become comfortable and we *have* become victims of our own success. But there is more to it than that. The left likes power for its own sake — they love power more than anything else and will do anything to get it and use it, while the right likes to put restrictions on power and does not exercise it nearly as well because they probably feel uncomfortable doing so.

Also, the left hates almost more than anything to be proven wrong, but that is exactly what this war has done. They have a tremendous desire to revise the record and they are using every means available to try to do so. The Democrats now say it would be wrong, and unfair, and sleazy for Republicans to talk during next year's campaigns about the Democrats' anti-war positions and votes, and that we shouldn't remind America that the Democrats were weak and mushy on this issue and just plain wrong about America's military power. And the media often tends to echo this line because, with some exceptions, the media tends to be — continues to be — anti-war, though perhaps less so in this instance than in the past.

Oliver Stone has made a cottage industry out of portraying Vietnam as America's worst moment. But if it was our worst moment it was so because of Congress's outrageous behavior in cutting off funds to the South Vietnamese army.

In a larger sense, the Gulf War proved the left wrong on the long-term issue of Vietnam, which was not a defeat militarily but a victory. The subsequent history of Southeast Asia and now this war have proved that the liberals were wrong in their approach to the war in Vietnam and, as I said, they hate that more than anything.

They've worked ceaselessly to rewrite that history in the media, in books, and through the arts. For crying out loud, filmmaker Oliver Stone has made a cottage industry out of portraying Vietnam as America's worst moment. But if it *was* our worst moment it was so because of Congress's outrageous behavior in cutting off funds to the South Vietnamese army. Clearly conservatives should do more in the media and the arts and in publishing, as you mentioned.

CPR: *Would you advise Republican political leaders to emphasize the issue of reverse discrimination and race-based quotas in hiring, in education, and other areas where it has been championed by Democrats?*

Khachigian: I think it is an issue; it has to be. It must be presented in a dignified, intelligent manner, trying *not* to inflame passions, but with honesty and integrity: argue straightforwardly that these things *do* amount to quotas, that they are not fair. There are plenty of good arguments against affirmative action *and* against the offshoot "politically correct" attitude that has been created on campuses and institutions all over the country.

But it takes courage, strength, and sometimes patience. There are going to be times when the opposition sinks to making charges of racism or bigotry, to trying to attach some such label to anyone who opposes affirmative action.

CPR: *Did this issue help Pete Wilson in the governor's race?*

Khachigian: Yes. He handled it the right way. Dianne Feinstein did not use the word "quotas," but she called for a state government hiring policy designed to achieve a state workforce in which every group would be represented in proportion to their share of the population. I suppose it meant, in effect, that if California is one percent Armenian they should have one percent of the positions; if there are 10 percent Asians they'd have to fill 10 percent of the jobs; if women make up 51 percent of the population, 51 percent of state employees must be women. Those *are* quotas and they are stupid.

She made that speech in a black church during the campaign, which strongly suggests that that's what she had in mind. Political motivations were behind it and that's what's behind most of it — it's Democrats, or liberals, attempting to build constituencies with promises.

That's not the right way to do things. It's not the way democracy ought to work and Wilson did an excellent job of putting forward his position forcefully while making very clear that he believes in equal opportunity, which is the real point.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CPR: *On another issue, Rep. Ron Dellums, D-Oakland, who reportedly told a public gathering in 1980: "We should totally dismantle every intelligence agency in this country piece by piece, nail by nail, brick by brick," was recently named to the House Intelligence Committee by Democrat leaders in Congress. Since Dellums' far left foreign policy ideas are especially unpopular now, should Republican congressional campaigns in California raise the issue of his appointment to illustrate how poorly congressional Democrats represent the views of most voters?*

Khachigian: The issue has some potential, but there is also the strong possibility that the situation will change dramatically between now and 1992. Most likely, time and events will change the agenda. Anyway, since they say all politics is really local, I would say individual candidates should develop strong arguments against their individual opponents. Sometimes great national movements sweep people out. Watergate swept out Republicans in 1974; inflation and Harry Truman's failures swept out Democrats in 1946. But that's rare. Usually, it is the strength of the individual candidate that matters, which means we must find articulate, smart, committed conservative Republican candidates to carry the battle against incumbents who are marginal and, especially, to run in the many open districts we can expect to see in 1992.

CPR: *What else do you expect in 1992?*

Khachigian: I'm the eternal optimist. I think 1992 is a potential watershed year for Republicans and for conservatives, but there are a lot of "ifs" to be resolved. *If* there is a fair redistricting, *if* we do a good job of raising money to support our candidates, *if* our candidate search finds a lot of new, aggressive talent — people willing to stand for something — and *if* the national and the state scenes — especially the economy — pick up, then there is a good chance we'll see more of what began in the Reagan era — a rising tide of Republicanism around the country and in California.

CPR: *The gerrymander is cited regularly to explain the Democrats' unbroken hold on Congress and the Legislature, but if that's the answer, why have Republicans had so little success in statewide races below the level of governor? Even Dan Lungren, whom you helped elect attorney general, won by only a razor-thin margin against an almost unknown opponent. Why was he the first Republican to win one of these statewide races since the 1970s?*

Khachigian: Democrats did well at this level in the '70s, which gave them the advantages of incumbency in the '80s. That and the Phil Burton redistricting plan gave them positions of power and the ability to raise vast amounts from constituencies dependent upon how that power is used. Take Arlo Smith. He raised virtually the same amount of money Dan Lungren did — a little more than $2 million. He was able to do that because he held a very important position: district attorney of San Francisco. He also had lots of help from people throughout the state and from Democrats in the Legislature and in Congress. One of my concerns, by the way, and something that should have conservatives ringing the alarm bells, is the extent to which Hollywood leftists are getting involved in California politics with vast amounts of money. Chevy Chase, for instance, wrote a $50,000 check for Dianne Feinstein.

A final point about Arlo Smith: he had a very superior ballot designation. Dan was desigated "attorney." Smith's designation was "District Attorney of San Francisco." I can tell you one thing: I'd welcome any challenge from Arlo Smith in 1994. CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Criticus

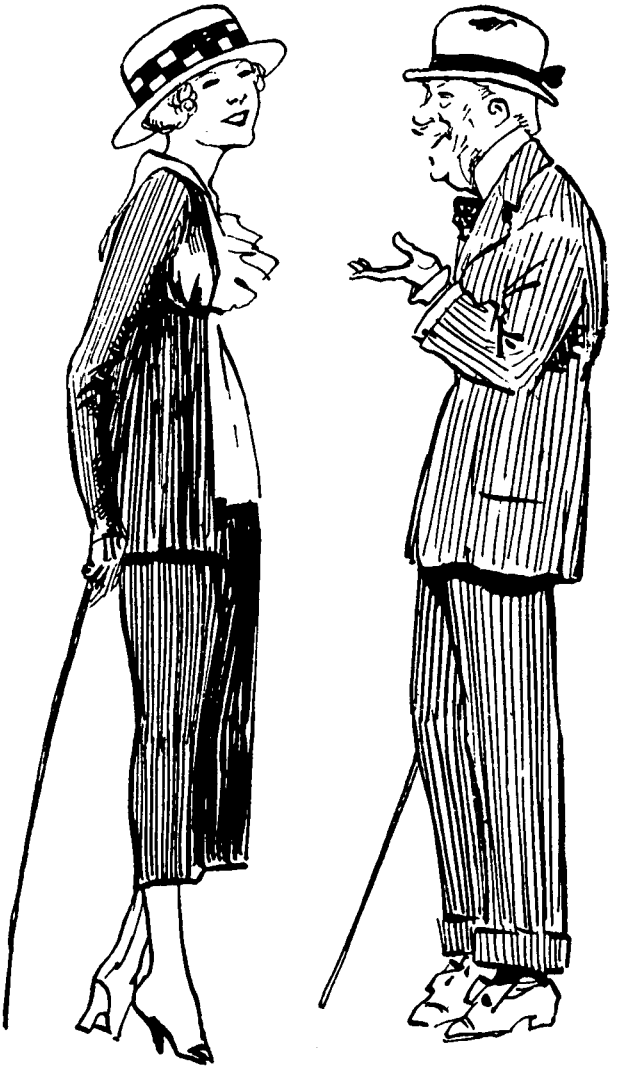
O Canada

G. B. Tennyson

THERE IS supposed to have been a contest once among a group of American literati for the most boring book title never written, and the hands-down winner was "Canada, Sleeping Giant to the North." (I should hope that the Canadian riposte for the most boring book never written, had they had the wit to think of it, would have been "America, Restless Colossus to the South.") I had occasion to test the truth of the sentiment of the Canadian non-title for almost the first time just the other week. "Almost" the first time, I say, as I had previously been briefly in Vancouver and Victoria, and as a nine-year-old boy walking across the international bridge at Niagara Falls. The Canadians I confided these facts to on my recent visit thought that the previous visits, save for Vancouver, didn't really count. (Victoria is English or pseudo-English, they counseled, and I should never again mention the youthful indiscretion of Niagara Falls.)

BUT THEY did think that my current visit to Alberta constituted an unquestionably real visit to the real Canada. Thus, in the manner of the U.S. Congressman or reporter who lands in Beirut or Baghdad or Budapest, heads for the nearest Hilton, and pronounces authoritatively *urbi et orbi* on the state of the city, the country, and the region, I am prepared to discourse on Canada, sleeping giant to the north.

Actually, there's not all that much to say . . . . No, in truth there's a good deal to say. If visiting Canada, or western Canada at any rate, is culturally more like visiting North Dakota than like visiting a foreign country, there are still a few interestingly "foreign" things about Canada. The first is the omnipresence of signs in two languages, even if one never actually *hears* an utterance in that second language. Not only must all public directions and facilities be identified in both English and French, but also all packaging of goods, all public announcements, posted prices, and the like. Indeed, Canada is more relentlessly thoroughgoing in such pursuits than Switzerland where they really do speak several languages, in fact recognizing four as official, but where they can let signs in French Switzerland be in French and in German Switzerland be in German, and where you will look long and largely in vain (except for paper currency) for any signs in Romansh outside the Grisons and not even find many there. No, Canada must impose French in all places and inevitably with such doggedness that the traveller confronts with perplexity the stuttering signs in the airport that read: "Restaurant/Restaurant." Only the monolingual know for sure which is in French and which in English.



NOW WHEN I say one will *hear* no French in Alberta, I should correct that to say that one will hear no French spoken on the street or in shops. One may tune into one of two French language channels on television and hear French. I thought this might forsooth be an intellectual treat, but I found that Canadian-French hockey coverage sounds little different from Canadian-English hockey coverage, as both draw on a limited vocabulary and an unlimited reserve of frenetic enthusiasm. Hockey coverage occupies approximately the amount of time on Canadian television as is de-

G. B. Tennyson is professor of English at U.C.L.A. and co-editor of Nineteenth-Century Literature.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

voted in the United States to soap operas, quiz shows, sit-coms, and the local and national evening news combined. Admittedly this was Stanley Cup season, so perhaps at other times the fare is more varied. And at all times there are also many imported shows from the restless colossus to the south.

THE OTHER French language channel was showing a made-for-television film about a teenaged girl who aspired to be a member of — guess what? — a boys' hockey team. Naturally she had terrible opposition at first — sneers, snickers, doubts, and all the rest — nor could she run as fast, climb as high, spit as far, and so on; but she kept making little *moues* at one of the boys on the team who then encouraged her to persevere, and when I switched off (15 minutes of channel hopping back and forth did it) she was seen preposterously suited up and serving, if you please, as goalie. Thus did French Canada unite the worst of its available cultures: a shamelessly stolen American style television story ("Varsity Rejects Girl Fullback — Family Sues School District") adapted to the Canadian national sport and spoken in Canadian French hockeyese. It did nothing to expand my French vocabulary, though there were surely a few invisible cimcumflexes in the dialogue, which was some consolation. An English-language channel at the same time broadcast the meeting of the Alberta provincial Legislature which featured a mild-looking white-haired gentleman quietly but firmly denouncing Quebec and all things associated with it, not least the French language.

FRIVOLOUS AS all this may seem, it actually illuminates what is the most serious problem facing Canada today, perhaps the most serious political problem ever in Canadian history. Nor is it a problem wholly peculiar to Canada. It may offer a foretaste of similar problems to come for the colossus to the south. Who knows, we may even be able to learn something from the way in which Canada resolves this problem, or fails to do so. I refer of course to what is somewhat euphemistically called "multiculturalism." The Lord moves in mysterious ways, and it just could be that the sleeping giant to the north is actually well ahead of the restless southern colossus in confronting what may eventually be a common problem.

For Canada is close to coming apart as a single nation over what is often seen as the language question but is more properly seen as a cultural question, of which the language issue is simply the most visible sign. The conflict is well enough known for me not to have to repeat it all here, but it is a con-

WATCHED WORDS

Valorize

ACADEMIC-ESE for "give value to," "hold in esteem," customarily used to cast doubt on what others have "valorized" in the past before offering a substitute truly worthy of valorization, as in "The establishment has always valorized the writings of Shakespeare, but I propose to valorize the work of [here fill in modern female or minority writer of choice]."

Privilege

ACADEMIC-ESE for valorize in preference to something else, as in "don't mean to privilege this kind of study over any other," when of course one does.

Gender

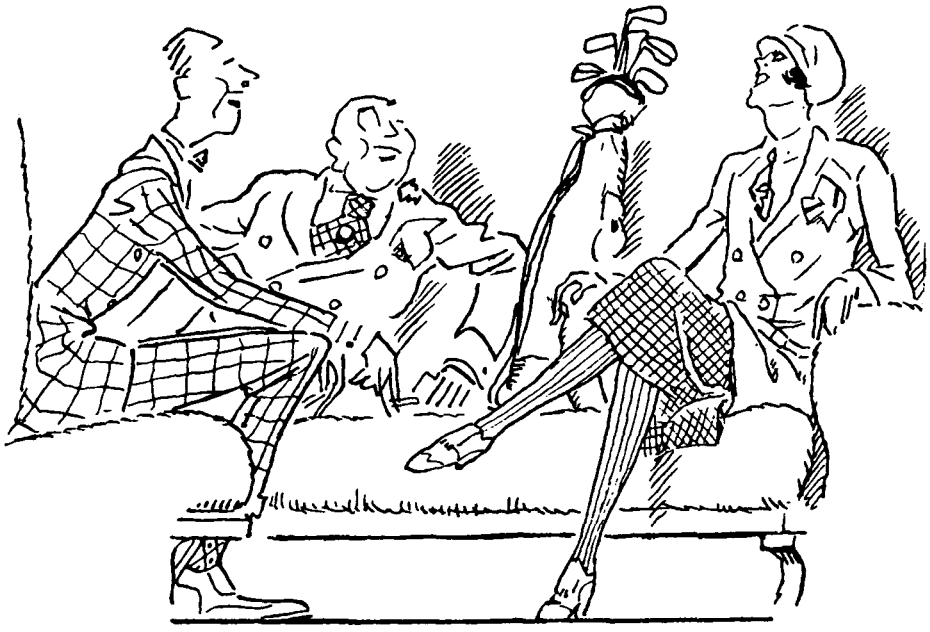
THIS NOW normally means female, as in "Gender Studies," there being no male gender studies, or rather in the view of the politically correct all previous studies having already been male studies.

Gender-Specific

USING "HE" or "she" without the "or," allowable only in instances such as "John knits his own sweaters" or "Mary repairs her tractor." In other cases to avoid privileging gender-specific language "or" must be used, as in "Each student will write his or her exam with his or her pencil in his or her blue book . . . ." Sometimes an acceptable variation is s/he, as in "S/he who wants to understand history should . . . ." The irreverent have been known to suggest that the only truly unbiased form, keeping in mind animal and plant life, should be "s/he/it."

—*Criticus*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



flict that Americans tend to look upon in a strangely detached way, much as they view the cultural conflicts of different groups in, say, the Indian subcontinent. Because the historic dynamism of American culture has tended to sweep all before it, whether the earlier inhabitants of the land or later arrivals, we have generally thought ourselves immune to the kind of linguistic-cultural struggle going on in Canada. But "multiculturalism" and "diversity," for which read simply separatism, is now the reigning wisdom in the academy, the bureaucracy, and the media, and these in turn are increasingly the masters of American policy, never mind who gets elected and on what platform.

AT A RECENT conference of the California Democrat party some foolhardy English-only advocates were expelled from the premises and not permitted to staff a booth to promote their views. The sillies perhaps thought that Democrat had a small "d." Radical Hispanics now refer to Mexico and the American southwest as the country of Atztlan and radical blacks have celebrations on college campuses for the country of Azania, which readers of Evelyn Waugh may remember as being located in Africa; perhaps one day the name will be assigned to a chosen region of the present United States. Except of course that such things can't happen here. We think. My own solution to the problem would be to extend U.S. statehood to the western provinces of Canada. Their English-language resolve is strong, the scenery is often spectacular, and they have unbelievably vast reserves of water.

As for Canada as a unity, if she can keep herself in one piece for just a little longer, she could enjoy a brief period of being the world's largest country in land area instead of, as now, the second largest, since the Soviet monolith appears to be disintegrating even faster. And Canada may even find a way out of the maze, though present portents are disheartening.

There used to be another joke about the sleeping giant, almost too close to the truth to be funny, to the effect that Canada should have been the luckiest country in the world for she could have had the culture of the English, the cuisine of the French, and the efficiency of the Americans. Instead she was the unluckiest and got the efficiency of the French, the cuisine of the English, and the culture of the Americans. Even if, as I hope, Canada can hold herself together, I'd not mind if she let a little of that French cuisine work its way westward. Not only would the taste of things improve greatly but at last there would be some point to restaurant signs in two languages. CPR

BOOKS

A Strange Romanticism

Darwin on Trial, by Phillip Johnson, Regnery Gateway, 195 pages, $19.95.

Reviewed by John Kurzweil

A RECENT ARTICLE in *Commentary* magazine by its music critic, Samuel Lipman, lamented "the general collapse of contemporary musical composition" and set off a lively follow-up exchange in the magazine's letters-to-the-editor section. One correspondent who generally agreed with Lipman's gloomy assessment attempted to brighten the overall picture by suggesting that, though "some may call current art decadent," at least "there is no decadence in the natural sciences or in technology." It is a strange sort of romanticism that imagines that science has somehow managed to maintain an uncorrupted dedication to pursuing objective truth despite the successive waves of militant materialism, relativism,

John Kurzweil is editor of California Political Review.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and nihilism that have assaulted the reason and sanity of the western world these past several hundred years. Alas, it is not so, as Phillip Johnson's *Darwin on Trial* makes abundantly clear.

SETTING HIMSELF the task of finding "whether Darwinism is based upon a fair assessment of the scientific evidence, or whether it is another kind of fundamentalism," Johnson proceeds to uncover one gaping hole in the Darwinists' case after another, dismantling it so convincingly that *Publishers Weekly* concluded its review of the book by saying, "this cogent, succinct inquiry cuts like a knife through neo-Darwinist assumptions."

The most obvious conclusion to be drawn from the book is that Darwinism is mainly a set of assumptions largely unsupported and often contradicted by the evidence, particularly the fossil record. Even more intriguing, though, is the now more than 100-year-long record Johnson relates of Darwinists repeatedly, almost reflexively, lapsing into unscientific myth-making and facile rationalization whenever necessary to cover up inconvenient facts or cover over the embarrassing lack of supporting evidence. Johnson repeatedly finds it necessary to steer the discussion back into the realm of science. In a chapter on biological classification, for instance, Johnson quotes Stephen Jay Gould and Douglas Futuyma, two of evolution's most prominent defenders. Gould and Futuyma both find convincing evidence of evolution in the apparent pointlessness of various anatomical forms such as the gills and fins of terrestrial salamanders, organs that are never used. They argue, in effect, that no intelligent Creator would have produced such silly, useless appendages — he'd have no reason to do so — and that therefore they must be the products of a mindless, purposeless force or process — evolution. "Evolution," wrote Gould, "lies exposed in the imperfections that record a history of descent."

But such features, Johnson writes, "may exist because a Creator employed them for some inscrutable purpose; or they may reflect inheritance from specific common ancestors; or they may be due to some as-yet-unimagined process which science may discover in the future. The task of science is not to speculate about why God might have done things this way, but to see if a material cause can be established by empirical investigation. If evolutionary biology is to be a science rather than a branch of philosophy, its theorists have to be willing to ask the scientific question: *How can Darwin's hypothesis of descent with modification be confirmed or falsified?*"

SO JOHNSON proceeds doggedly onward seeking the Darwinist devoted to proving his case with demonstrable proofs rather than speculation and having no more success than Gould or the other intrepid searchers scanning the world for their still very elusive missing links. The reason such Darwinists can't be found, of course, is that Darwinism is not about science at all; it is about religion or, more specifically, about sustaining atheism's denial of the existence of any supernatural Creator.

"I WOULD GIVE nothing for the theory of natural selection," Darwin wrote to Sir Charles Lyell, "if it requires miraculous additions at any one stage of descent." This letter, Johnson writes, is quoted by Oxford zoologist Richard Dawkins, a committed, highly influential Darwinist, in his book *The Blind Watchmaker*. Dawkins commented on Darwin's words that "This is no petty matter. In Darwin's view, the whole point of the theory of evolution by natural selection was that it provided a non-miraculous account of the existence of complex adaptations." At another point in *The Blind Watchmaker*, Dawkins observed that "Darwin made it possible to be an intellectually fulfilled atheist."

Atheism, of course, is no less a matter of faith in unprovable first assumptions than is any religion. But unlike religion, which proposes something — God — in which faith can be placed, atheism provides only negative propositions, that there is no God, no supernatural life, no design to the universe or anything in it, no real point to human existence: nothing, in short, in which men can place any faith. The "intellectually fulfilled" atheist, therefore, must perform the neat trick of believing on faith that no faith in anything has any basis. A contradiction in terms to be sure, but the trick is turned nonetheless, as Johnson's book demonstrates repeatedly, by the simple expedient of ignoring the truth. The National

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Academy of Sciences, for instance, argued before the U.S. Supreme Court that "the most basic characteristic of science [is] reliance upon naturalistic explanations," but didn't explain how we know supernatural explanations can't be true. What the Academy described was not science but prejudice, the most basic characteristic of which is a steel-trap certitude about unproven presumptions.

Johnson concludes by gently reminding us that science ought to be about truth, not prejudice. That anyone should have to make such a point at all proves unmistakeably, though it would perhaps be comforting to think otherwise, that science is no more immune than art to the blandishments of materialism, relativism, and nihilism. CPR

Political Hardball in Academe

Illiberal Education: The Politics of Race and Sex on Campus, by Dinesh D'Souza, The Free Press, 319 pages, $19.95

Reviewed by Glynn Custred

MOST OF those engaged in radical student politics in the '60s went on to join the mainstream becoming, like others of their generation, stockbrokers, managers, or businessmen. Some, however, remained in the university to earn their Ph.D.s and subsequently to move into teaching jobs, eventually getting tenure and, finally, in the '80s becoming the senior faculty and administrators of colleges and universities all over the country.

These former activists, living in the sheltered confines of the university, supported by the largesse of a market economy, and protected by the institutions of a liberal democratic society, remained transfixed by a vision of the world that depicted America and the West as endemically racist, imperialist, xenophobic, and sexist. For them everything is reduced to the black and white of power politics. In their eyes merit, the basis of every university, is no more than a mask for the continued hegemony of the dominating class and gender. The curriculum is treated as little more than propaganda. Freedom of speech is reserved for those on the side of political correctness.

Their mission, as they see it, is to change American society by restructuring the university, the only institution in which they hold any power. Their handiwork is evident nationally in curricular revisions, revised rules for student admission and evaluation, in the way students pay for their education, in the hiring and promotion of faculty, in a general devaluation of educational standards, and in the establishment of systems for policing the habits, attitudes, and speech of the entire university community. This campaign adds up to what Donald Kagan, dean of arts and sciences at Yale University, calls a "revolution from the top down." He notes also that, "few outside the university have any idea what is going on."

THE MOVEMENT initiated by the revisionists, called variously "diversity" and "multiculturalism," is abetted by those among their colleagues whose attitudes, formed in the '60s and '70s, provide no moral ground from which to challenge the revisionists, or in many cases no way even of comprehending what is going on. It is also abetted by the timidity of others on campus who understand what is happening but who, fearful of being labeled "racist" or even of finding themselves hauled up before formal "sensitivity" tribunals, dare not stand up for their convictions.

Until a few months ago those few in the university who tried to alert the public were listened to, if at all, with suspicion since some of what they were reporting (called "horror stories" by academics) was so bizarre that sensible people outside the university frankly found it unbelievable. But more recently things have gotten so bad that something of an explosion of press coverage has occurred. Two major

Glynn Custred is a professor of anthropology at C. S. U. Hayward and a member of the California Association of Scholars.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pieces have appeared on the subject in the *New York Review of Books*, along with articles in the *New York Times* and *Wall Street Journal*, and major cover stories in *Newsweek*, *New York* magazine, *The New Republic*, and *Time*.

'Stephen Carter, the white male, was not good enough for the Harvard Law School. Stephen Carter, the black male, not only was good enough, but rated agonized telephone calls urging him to attend.'

Now comes Dinesh D'Souza's *Illiberal Education: The Politics of Race and Sex on Campus* to document thoroughly the "revolution from above" as it is occurring in colleges and universities at all levels across the nation. D'Souza's book was excerpted as the cover article in April's *Atlantic* magazine and has been reviewed in newspapers and magazines nationally.

D'SOUZA IS in an especially advantageous position to examine this issue. Not only is he an able and articulate scholar, he has experienced the sting of "political correctness" first hand as the editor of *The Dartmouth Review*, a conservative student newspaper at Dartmouth College. Moreover, he is a young man, recently a student himself, who speaks with the vigor of youth *and*, as an immigrant from India (he first came to this country from Bombay as a high school student), he understands the difficulties that relative outsiders, whether immigrants or minorities, can have in adjusting to the rigors of academic life in the United States.

In researching his book, D'Souza attended classes, collected documents, and interviewed faculty, students, and administrators in colleges and universities around the country. He documents the characteristic attitude conveyed in many courses that "white, male-dominated Western, European culture is the most destructive phenomenon known in the history of the planet" — courses, mind you, conducted by professed apostles of tolerance and openness. The book describes the travails of a professor of social history at Harvard who was subjected to "McCarthyism of the left" for assigning journals of Southern planters to illustrate the attitudes held by slave owners.

D'Souza assays UC Berkeley's admissions policies that assure black or Hispanic students with grade point averages of 3.5 and SAT scores of 1,200 (of a possible 1,600) a nearly 100 percent chance of being admitted while affording Asian students with the same qualifications no more than a five percent chance. He looks at the admissions practices of Ivy League schools where most incoming freshmen must bring with them a GPA of 4.0 and average SAT scores of from 1,250 to 1,300, but where black, Hispanic, and American Indian applicants with GPAs as low as 2.5 and SAT aggregates in the 700 and 800 range are given places, and at Penn State, a school that pays black students, regardless of financial need, $580 a year if they achieve a C to C+ average and $1,160 for higher grades.

Tragically, these policies degrade the very students they are supposed to help. For instance, D'Souza

quotes Stephen Carter, a Stanford graduate first turned down by Harvard Law School but later accepted when they found he was black. D'Souza quotes Mr. Carter:

"NATURALLY I was insulted . . . Stephen Carter, the white male, was not good enough for the Harvard Law School. Stephen Carter, the black male, not only was good enough, but rated agonized telephone calls urging him to attend. And Stephen Carter, color unknown, must have been white: how else would he have achieved what he did in college? In other words my academic record sounded too good for a black Stanford graduate, but not good enough for a white Harvard Law student. Because I was black, however, Harvard was quite happy to scrape me from what it apparently considered the bottom of the barrel."

Not only should students and their parents read *Illiberal Education*, but also anyone who pays taxes, anyone who supports private colleges or universities, and every trustee and regent of any institution of higher education in the country. CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Evolution

(Continued from page 15)

conception than to the evidence itself. Imagine the confusion that Bryan could have caused by demanding the right to read his own preferred evidence into those famous gaps! Why not, if Darwin could do it?

PALEONTOLOGISTS SEEM to have thought it their duty to protect the rest of us from the erroneous conclusions we might have drawn if we had known the actual state of the evidence. Gould described "the extreme rarity of transitional forms in the fossil record" as "the trade secret of paleontology." Steven Stanley explained that the doubts of paleontologists about gradualistic evolution were for long years "suppressed." He wrote that the process began with T. H. Huxley himself, who muted "his negative attitudes toward gradual change and natural selection," presumably because "as a believer, Huxley was not inclined to aid those who were disposed to throw the baby of evolution out with the bathwater of gradualistic natural selection." But why would Huxley fear that, unless the baby and bathwater were impossible to separate?

Niles Eldredge has been even more revealing: "We paleontologists have said that the history of life supports [the story of gradual adaptive change], all the while really knowing that it does not." But how could a deception of this magnitude possibly have been perpetrated by the whole body of a respected science, dedicated almost by definiton to the pursuit of truth? Eldredge's explanation is all too believeable to anyone who is familiar with the ways of the academic world:

> Each new generation, it seems, produces a few young paleontologists eager to document examples of evolutionary change in their fossils. The changes they have always looked for have, of course, been of the gradual, progressive sort. More often than not their efforts have gone unrewarded — their fossils, rather than exhibiting the expected pattern, just seem to persist virtually unchanged . . . . This extraordinary conservatism looked, to the paleontologist keen on finding evolutionary change, as if no evolution had occurred. Thus studies documenting conservative persistence rather than gradual evolutionary change were considered failures, and, more often than not, were not even published. Most paleontologists were aware of the stability, the lack of change we call stasis . . . . But insofar as evolution itself is concerned, paleontologists usually saw stasis as "no results" rather than as a contradiction of the prediction of gradual, progressive evolutionary change. Gaps in the record continue (to this day) to be invoked as the prime reason why so few cases of gradual change are found.

Gould wrote in the same vein that "When Niles Eldredge and I proposed the theory of punctuated equilibrium in evolution, we did so to grant stasis in phylogenetic lineages the status of 'worth reporting' — for stasis had previously been ignored as nonevidence of evolution, though all paleontologists knew its high relative frequency." What Gould and Eldredge had to avoid, however, was what Eldredge described as "the not-unreasonable relegation to the lunatic fringe that some paleontologists in the past had suffered when they too saw something out of kilter between contemporary evolutionary theory, on the one hand, and patterns of change in the fossil record on the other."

Science and Pseudoscience

Karl Popper provides the indispensable starting point for understanding the difference between science and pseudoscience. Popper spent his formative years in early twentieth century Vienna, where intellectual life was dominated by science-based ideologies like Marxism and the psychoanalytic schools of Freud and Adler. These were widely accepted as legitimate branches of natural science, and they attracted large followings among intellectuals because they appeared to have such immense explanatory power. Acceptance of either Marxism or psychoanalysis had, as Popper observed,

> the effect of an intellectual conversion or revelation, opening your eyes to a new truth hidden from those not yet initiated. Once your eyes were thus opened you saw confirming instances everywhere: the world was full of verifications of the theory. Whatever happened always confirmed it. Thus its truth appeared manifest; and unbelievers were clearly people who did not want to see the manifest truth; who refused to see it, either because it was against their class interest, or because of their repressions which were still "un-analyzed" and crying aloud for treatment. . . . A Marxist could not open a newspaper without finding on every page confirming evidence for his interpretation of history; not only in the news, but also in its presentation — which revealed the class bias of the paper — and especially, of course, in what the paper did not say. The Freudian analysts emphasized that their theories were constantly verified by their "clinical observations."

Popper saw that a theory that appears to explain

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

everything actually explains nothing. If wages fell this was because the capitalists were exploiting the workers, as Marx predicted they would, and if wages rose this was because the capitalists were trying to save a rotten system with bribery, which was also what Marxism predicted. A psychoanalyst could explain why a man would commit murder — or, with equal facility, why the same man would sacrifice his own life to save another. According to Popper, however, a theory with genuine explanatory power makes risky predictions, which exclude most possible outcomes. Success in prediction is impressive only to the extent that failure was a real possibility.

How does Darwinism fare if we judge the practices of Darwinists by Popper's maxims? Darwin was relatively candid in acknowledging that the evidence was in important respects not easy to reconcile with his theory, but in the end he met every difficulty with a rhetorical solution. He described *The Origin of Species* as "one long argument," and the point of the argument was that the common ancestry thesis was so logically appealing that rigorous empirical testing was not required. He proposed no daring experimental tests, and thereby started his science on the wrong road. Darwin himself established the tradition of explaining away the fossil record, of citing selective breeding as verification without acknowledging its limitations, and of blurring the critical distinction between minor variations and major innovations.

The central Darwinist concept that later came to be called the "fact of evolution" — descent with modification — was thus from the start protected from empirical testing. Darwin did leave some important questions open, including the relative importance of natural selection as a mechanism of change. The resulting arguments about the process, which continue to this day, distracted attention from the fact that the all-important central concept had become a dogma.

The Recognition of Ignorance

There is no need to press for a verdict on Darwinism now, however. If Darwinists were to restate common ancestry as a scientific hypothesis, and encourage a search for falsifying evidence, additional evidence would be forthcoming. The final judgment on Darwinism can safely be left to the deliberative processes of the scientific community — once that community has demonstrated its willingness to investigate the subject without prejudice.

Prejudice is a major problem, however, because the leaders of science see themselves as locked in a desperate battle against religious fundamentalists, a label which they tend to apply broadly to anyone who believes in a Creator who plays an active role in worldly affairs. These fundamentalists are seen as a threat to liberal freedom, and especially as a threat to public support for scientific research. As the creation myth of scientific naturalism, Darwinism plays an indispensable ideological role in the war against fundamentalism. For that reason, the scientific organizations are devoted to protecting Darwinism rather than testing it, and the rules of scientific investigation have been shaped to help them succeed.

Darwinists took the wrong view of science because they were infected with the craving to be right. Their scientific colleagues have allowed them to get away with pseudoscientific practices primarily because most scientists do not understand that there is a difference between the scientific method of inquiry, as articulated by Popper, and the philosophical program of scientific naturalism. One reason that they are not inclined to recognize the difference is that they fear the growth of religious fanaticism if the power of naturalistic philosophy is weakened. But whenever science is enlisted in some other cause — religious, political, or racialistic — the result is always that the scientists themselves become fanatics. Scientists see this clearly when they think about the mistakes of their predecessors, but they find it hard to believe that their colleagues could be making the same mistakes today.

Exposing Darwinism to possible falsification would not imply support for any other theory, certainly not any pseudoscientific theory based upon a religious dogma. Accepting Popper's challenge is simply to take the first step towards understanding: the recognition of ignorance. Falsification is not a defeat for science, but a liberation. It removes the dead weight of prejudice, and thereby frees us to look for the truth. CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Worth Repeating

Empowering the Black Community

by Elizabeth Wright

ISSUES & VIEWS is a quarterly newsletter with subscribers in almost every state. Although the first issue of the newsletter was published in 1985, the genesis for it began somewhere in the late 1970s when I found myself becoming more and more alarmed by the ongoing deterioration in the black community — the escalating crime, the growing number of unwed mothers, and the increasing poverty. I continually encountered other blacks who would mumble under their breath about what they felt to be a connection between the growing poverty and policies supported by the so-called black leadership and their white supporters. In private, these blacks could eloquently express their dismay and even anger at what they saw as the wrong path down which they felt blacks were being led. But publicly, they parroted what we have come to know as the "party line," that is — all we need is more money for more programs, and eventually our problems will be solved.

About this time, I was impressed by an article by Thomas Sowell on the role of politics among blacks. We were being taught that all our troubles stemmed from being "outside the system," and, therefore, all our energies should be turned toward getting inside. Yet, Sowell shows how every prosperous group in America put business development first and only later turned to politics. Other groups learned early, in Bob Woodson's words, that "political clout derives from economic power, not the other way around." Sowell and Walter Williams talk about the fickleness of political trends, and how the political pendulum can swing this way, to the left, and then that way, to the right.

SO, WHEN the idea for a newsletter occurred to me, I decided I wanted it to be the voice of all those blacks, whom I knew were out there, whose words got either minimal coverage in the black and mainstream media, or none at all. I wanted it to be a forum for common sense, not ideology or dogma. I would like to tell you about some of the people I have covered in *Issues & Views*, and their strategies for bringing the black poor, as participants, into the mainstream economy.

Some of you may know the name Ralph McNeal, the former president of North Street Capital Corp., which was a venture capital company of General Foods. For about seven years, McNeal and a dedicated core of black executives have been doing the groundwork to create a stock exchange that will primarily help finance small minority-owned businesses. Three years ago, I sat in on one of their meetings where they discussed the qualifications and legal protections needed, and the manner in which the new exchange should be run.

PATTERNED AFTER London's successful Unlisted Securities Market, the American Small Business Stock Exchange, or ASBEX, will officially file for certification in a couple of months with 100 seats. Last spring, McNeal visited England, where he finalized plans to join this newly-formed American exchange in an association with Europe's 12 small stock exchanges. In November, after ASBEX is officially in operation, a meeting of all 13 of these small exchanges will take place in London.

McNeal says that London's Unlisted Securities Market, in the 10 years of its existence, has helped finance over 750 small businesses. It has given these companies credibility they would not otherwise have so they're in a better position to get bank loans. He believes that ASBEX will handle twice as many companies in its first three to five years. Among other things, ASBEX will provide an outlet for such things as pension funds to help capitalize small businesses.

McNeal says, "ASBEX will produce a flow of new professionals who can provide services and technical knowledge. Capital will be accumulated, jobs will be developed, along with new products, new companies, and new real estate developments."

In talking with me recently, McNeal said that he disagreed with the idea that an "entrepreneurial culture" among blacks has been lost. He claims, "It's never been lost, it's only been simmering, and waiting for something to feed it. It just has never been adequately developed." He believes that ASBEX has the potential to create a new generation of entrepreneurs.

I WOULD LIKE to close on that note — that these people are determined to bring new knowledge and awareness to blacks, so that we may finally take control of our community. They represent a movement that is not going away. CPR

Excerpted from remarks by Elizabeth Wright, editor of Issues & Views, *at The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C., September 24, 1990.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Congress Is Out of Control!

And this is the one place you can get the whole story.

Not since the heyday of liberalism in the '60s and '70s has the United States been faced with a Congress so committed to the destructive course set by the radical left.

Unfortunately, as the recent budget fight showed, President Bush seems unable — or in many cases unwilling — to use the power of his office to stop them.

And this new liberal-left onslaught —strengthened by the November elections — may ultimately be the most damaging to our country yet. Let's look at just a few examples:

- The Budget/Deficit "Reduction" Act which imposes the biggest tax hike in history, allows spending to increase enormously and will, in fact, create a larger budget deficit next year — facts the national media conveniently obscured.
- The Americans With Disabilities Act, which created huge new classes of "disabled" people (including but not limited to: drug addicts; AIDS patients; drunks; psychotics; and maybe even transvestites) and will force employers to hire them no matter what the problem or cost.
- The outrageously expensive Clean Air Act, which will impose untold expense—conservative estimates run upwards of $100 billion—and will cost tens of thousands of jobs, yet will yield little improvement in our environment for the price.
- The New Child Care Act, which will create huge new federal bureaucracies and generate massive new regulations to solve a problem best left to individual families.
- The Ted Kennedy-sponsored "Civil Rights Act of 1990," which tried to reimpose a "quota" system in hiring, pushing us even farther away from President Reagan's dream of a "color-blind" society.
- Massive new mandated health and maternity benefit programs that will cost businesses — and, eventually, consumers — billions and may actually result in much poorer health insurance covering many workers who may not want or need it.
- Budget *increases* for the National Endowment for the Arts. Even as American taxpayers are outraged by the blasphemy and pornography sponsored by the Endowment, their budget was increased — allowing the NEA to fund even more outrageous "art."

And to top it all off, under huge pressure from the media and the liberals in Congress — and unfortunately from many within his own Administration— President Bush has now broken his pledge of "No new taxes."

With Ronald Reagan gone, the floodgates of liberalism are open. By now you have probably already realized that there's just no way you are getting the whole truth from your current news sources.

That's why *Human Events*, The National Conservative Weekly, is an absolutely vital addition to your life. Only with *Human Events* will you get the other side of the argument: The real agenda of the Earth Day crowd; the untold damage the Clean Air Act will do to our economy; the people who will actually benefit from the Americans With Disabilities Act (and believe me, it's not the 16-year-old kids in wheelchairs paraded in front of the TV cameras); and so many other important stories you will never see anywhere else.

In our 46 years of publication, we have earned a reputation for objective reporting of the news from Washington, our nation and around the world. The kind of objectivity sadly lacking in the major daily newspapers, the well-known newsweeklies, and the television and radio networks.

Every week, *Human Events* brings our subscribers stories that the others just won't carry, or bury in section 3, page 56.

And *Human Events* is loaded with regular features unavailable anywhere else:

★ **Capital Briefs** — Inside bits of information on almost any important topic from politics to foreign affairs to legislative initiatives. Probably our best-read section, and the kind of information that our subscribers always want more of.

★ **Inside Washington** — Stories developed from our exclusive network of Washington sources, the kind of news you need to know. Plus analysis you won't see anywhere else. That's why *Human Events* is often described as being "ahead of the curve" in our coverage of important news. Many stories appear in our pages weeks and even months before the major media pick them up.

★ **Politics '91** — Important political races, referendums, and power shifts from all 50 states, *Human Events* gives you the coverage sadly unavailable anywhere else. While not exclusively a "political newsletter," our political coverage puts many of the high-priced newsletters to shame.

★ **Focus on the Media** — We'll tell you where the other "news" organizations have fallen down on the job and shown their liberal bias. Once you've started reading "Focus" you'll take a much more skeptical look at the evening news or your daily paper.

★ **Rollcalls** — Complete lists of how your Senators and Congressman voted on all the key issues. An absolute must if you want to tell the true conservatives from the liberals.

★ **Conservative Forum** — In our "letters to the editor," you'll get opinion from your fellow conservatives, and, in alternate weeks, news of conservative functions and gatherings across our nation.

★ **Opinion** — Absolutely the finest collection of conservative columnists available, you'll get opinions from all the top writers — many exclusive to *Human Events*.

You'll get all this and more, every week, as a subscriber to *Human Events*, The National Conservative Weekly.

And because we believe that if you sample *Human Events*, you'll remain as a subscriber for years, we'll make you this Special Introductory Offer: A full year—52 weekly issues of *Human Events* for only $29.95—a savings of over 50% off our cover price of $65.

And your satisfaction is guaranteed!

We're so certain that you will find *Human Events* indispensable that we'll guarantee it: If you decide at any time that you don't want to continue reading *Human Events*, just drop us a note. We'll cancel your subscription and refund the cost of your remaining issues.

Take a moment right now and fill out the coupon below. In a world as complex as ours, you need the truth, not liberal lies, and *Human Events* is the best place to get it.

☐ Please enter my subscription to *Human Events* at the Special Introductory Rate of a full year for only **$29.95.** (Please make checks payable to *Human Events*.)

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Please mail entire coupon to:

HUMAN EVENTS
422 First Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003 CPR-10

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

California Political Review

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED